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MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

BY M. DE BOURRIENNE,

HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY.

TO WHICH ARE NOW FIRST ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE HUNDRED DAYS, OF NAPOLEON'S SURRENDER TO THE ENGLISH, AND OF HIS RESIDENCE AND DEATH AT ST. HELENA.

WITH

ANECDOTES AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES

FROM ALL THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

"Ah! Bourrienne, you also will be immortal!" said Napoleon.—"How, Sire?"—"Are you not my Secretary?"

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

1806—1807.

New system of war—Winter quarters—The emperor's proclamation—Necessity of marching to meet the Russians—Distress in the Hanse Towns—Order for fifty thousand cloaks—Seizure of Russian corn and timber—Murat's entrance into Warsaw—Re-establishment of Poland—Duroc's accident—M. de Talleyrand's carriage stopped by the mud—Napoleon's power of rousing the spirit of his troops—His mode of dictating—The Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin—His visits to Hamburg—The Duke of Weimar—His letter and present—Journey of the hereditary Prince of Denmark to Paris—Butler, the English spy—Travelling clerks—Louis Bonaparte and the Berlin decree.

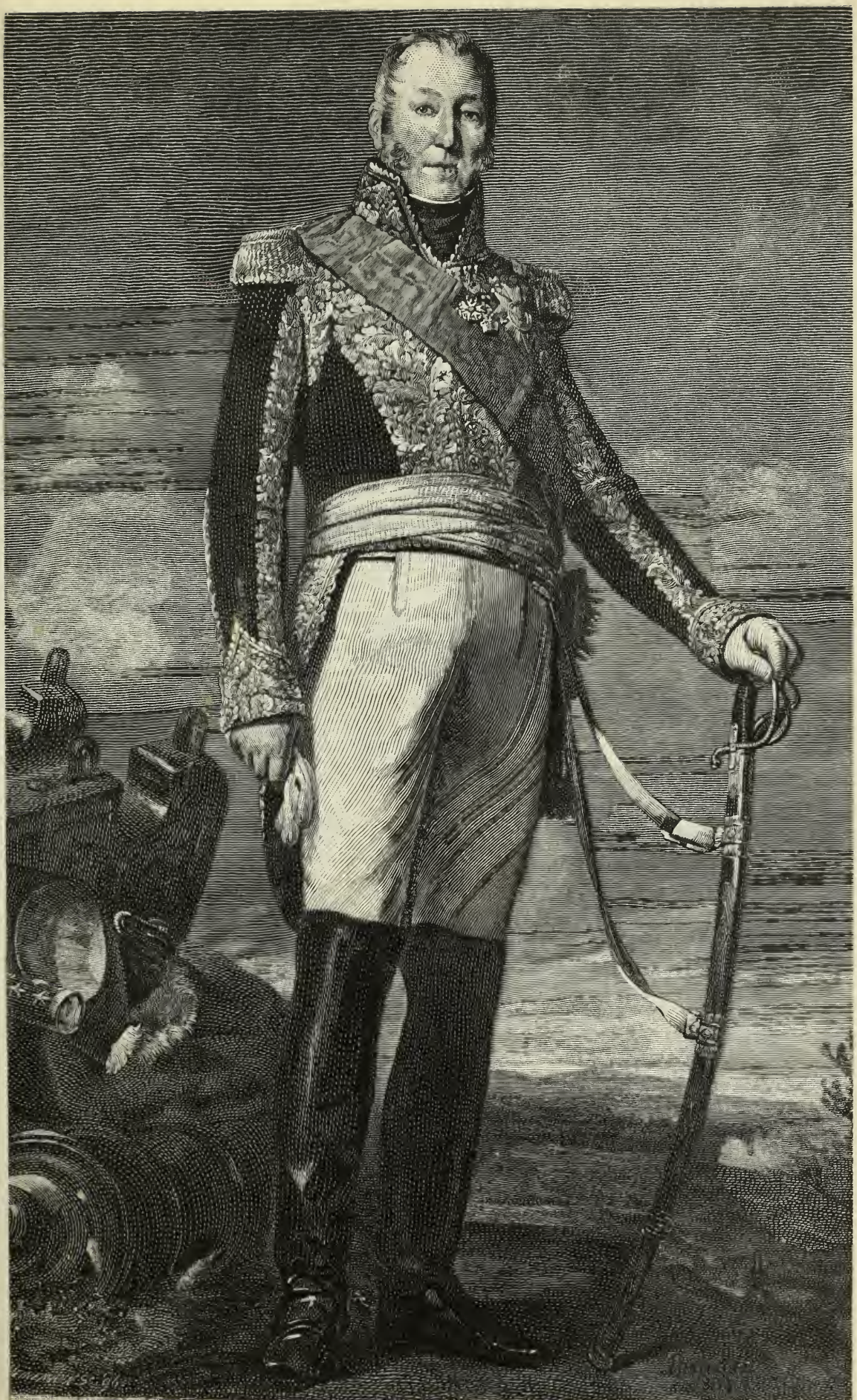
Bonaparte was not only beyond all comparison the greatest captain of modern times, but he may be said to have wrought a complete change in the art of war. Before his time, the most able generals regulated the fighting season by the almanack. It was customary in Europe to brave the cannon's mouth only from the first five days of spring, to the last five days of autumn; and the months of rain, snow, and frost, were passed in what were called winter quarters. Pichegru, in Holland, had set the example of indifference to temperature. At Austerlitz, too, Bonaparte had braved the severity of winter: this answered his purpose well, and he adopted the same course in 1806. His military genius and activity seemed to increase, and, proud of his troops, he determined to commence a winter campaign in a climate more rigorous than any in which he had yet fought. The men, chained to his destiny, were now required to brave the northern blast, as they had formerly braved the vertical sun of Egypt. Napoleon, who, above all generals, was remarkable for the choice of his fields of battle, did not wish to wait tran-

quilly until the Russian army, which was advancing towards Germany, should come to measure its strength with him in the plains of conquered Prussia; he resolved to march to meet it, and to reach it before it should cross the Vistula: but before he left Berlin to explore, as a conqueror, Poland and the confines of Russia, he addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he stated all that had hitherto been achieved by the French army, and at the same time announced his future intentions. It was especially advisable that he should march forward; for, had he waited until the Russians had passed the Vistula, there could, probably, have been no winter campaign, and he would have been obliged either to take up miserable winter quarters between the Vistula and the Oder, or to recross the Oder to combat the enemy in Prussia. His military genius and indefatigable activity served him admirably on this occasion, and the proclamation just alluded to, which was dated from Berlin before his departure from Charlottenburg, proves that he did not act fortuitously, as he frequently did, but that his calculations were well made.*

A rapid and immense impulse given to great masses of men by the will of a single individual, may produce transient lustre, and dazzle the eyes of the multitude; but when, at a distance from the theatre of glory, we see only the melancholy results which have been produced, the genius of conquest can only be regarded as the genius of destruction. What a sad picture was often presented to my eyes! I was continually doomed to hear complaints of the general distress, and to execute orders which augmented the immense sacrifices already made by the city of Hamburg. Thus for example, the emperor desired me to furnish him with fifty thousand cloaks, which I immediately did. I felt the importance of such an order at the approach of winter, and in a climate the rigour of which our troops had not yet encountered. I also received orders to seize at Lubeck (which town, as I have already stated, had been alternately taken and retaken by Blucher and Bernadotte), four hundred thousand lasts of corn, and to send them to Magdeburg. This corn belonged to Russia. Marshal Mortier, too, had seized some timber for building, which also belonged to Russia, and which was estimated at fourteen hundred thousand francs.

Meanwhile our troops continued to advance with such rapidity, that before the end of November Murat arrived at Warsaw, at the head of the advanced guard of the grand army, of which he had the command. The emperor's head-quarters were then at Posen, and he received deputations from all parts soliciting

* Before leaving the capital of Prussia, Bonaparte insulted the remains of Frederic the Great, and stole from his monument his sword and military orders. He also plundered the galleries of Berlin and Potsdam of their best pictures and statues, thus continuing the iniquitous system he had begun in Italy. All these things he sent on to Paris as trophies of victory and glory.—*Editor.*



THE PAINTING BY MARIE-NICOLAS PONCE-CAMUS, IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES.

ENGRAVED BY E. HEIN

ÉDOUARD-ADOLPHE-CASIMIR-JOSEPH MORTIER, DUKE OF TREVISO.

the re-establishment and independence of the kingdom of Poland. Rapp informed me, that after receiving the deputation from Warsaw, the emperor said to him, "I love the Poles; their enthusiastic character pleases me; I should like to make them independent, but that is a difficult matter. Austria, Russia, and Prussia, have all had a slice of the cake; when the match is once kindled, who knows where the conflagration may stop: my first duty is towards France, which I must not sacrifice to Poland—we must refer this matter to the sovereign of all things—time: he will presently show us what we must do." Had Sulkowsky lived, Napoleon might have recollected what he had said to him in Egypt, and in all probability he would have raised up a power, the dismemberment of which, towards the close of the last century, began to break that sort of political equilibrium which had subsisted in Europe since the peace of Westphalia.

It was at the head-quarters at Posen, that Duroc rejoined the emperor after his mission to the King of Prussia. His carriage overturned on the way, and he had the misfortune to break his collar-bone. All the letters I received were nothing but a succession of complaints on the bad state of the roads. Our troops were absolutely fighting in mud, and it was with extreme difficulty that the artillery and forges of the army could be moved along. M. de Talleyrand had been summoned to head-quarters by the emperor, in the expectation of treating for peace, and I was informed that his carriage stuck in the mud, and he was detained on his journey for twelve hours. A soldier having asked one of the persons in M. de Talleyrand's suite, who the traveller was, was informed that he was the minister for foreign affairs:—"Ah! bah!" said the soldier, "Why does he come with his diplomacy to such a devil of a country as this?"

The emperor entered Warsaw on the 1st of January, 1807. Most of the reports which he had received previous to his entrance, had concurred in describing the dissatisfaction of the troops, who, for some time, had had to contend with bad roads, bad weather, and all sorts of privations. Bonaparte said to the generals, who informed him that the enthusiasm of his troops had been succeeded by dejection and discontent, "Does their spirit fail them when they come in sight of the enemy?"—"No, Sire."—"I knew it; my troops are always the same." Then turning to Rapp, he said, "I must rouse them;" and he dictated the following proclamation:

Soldiers,

It is a year this very hour since you were on the field of Austerlitz, where the Russian battalions fled in disorder, or surrendered up their arms to their conquerors. Next day proposals of peace were talked of; but they were deceptive. No sooner had the Russians escaped by, perhaps, blameable generosity, from the disasters of the third coalition, than they contrived a fourth. But the ally on whose tactics

they founded their principal hope was no more. His capital, his fortresses, his magazines, his arsenals, two hundred and eighty flags, and two hundred fieldpieces have fallen into our power. The Oder, the Wartha, the deserts of Poland, and the inclemency of the season, have not for a moment retarded your progress. You have braved all; surmounted all; every obstacle has fled at your approach. The Russians have in vain endeavoured to defend the capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French eagle hovers over the Vistula. The brave and unfortunate Poles, on beholding you, fancied they saw the legions of Sobiesky returning from their memorable expedition.

Soldiers, we will not lay down our arms until a general peace has secured the power of our allies, and restored to us our colonies and our freedom of trade. We have gained on the Elbe and the Oder, Pondicherry, our Indian establishments, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. Why should the Russians have the right of opposing destiny and thwarting our just designs? They and we are still the soldiers who fought at Austerlitz.*

When Bonaparte dictated his proclamation—and how many have I not written from his dictation—he was for the moment inspired, and he evinced all the excitement which distinguishes the Italian Improvisatori. To follow him, it was necessary to write with inconceivable rapidity. When I have read over to him what he has dictated, I have often known him to smile triumphantly at the effect which he expected any particular phrase would produce. In general his proclamations turned on three distinct points—praising his soldiers for what they had done, pointing out to them what they had yet to do, and abusing his enemies. The proclamation to which I have just now alluded was circulated profusely through Germany, and it is impossible

* Rapp thus describes the entrance of the French into Warsaw, and adds a few amusing anecdotes connected with that event:

"At length we entered the Polish capital. The King of Naples had preceded us, and had driven the Russians from the city. Napoleon was received with enthusiasm. The Poles thought that the moment of their regeneration had arrived, and that their wishes were fulfilled. It would be difficult to describe the joy thus evinced, and the respect with which they treated us. The French troops, however, were not quite so well pleased; they manifested the greatest repugnance to crossing the Vistula. The idea of want and bad weather had inspired them with the greatest aversion to Poland, and they were inexhaustible in their jokes on the country.

"The French troops used to say that the four following words constituted the whole language of the Poles:—*Kleba? niema; vota? sara.* (Some bread? there is none; some water? we will go and fetch it.) This was all that was to be heard in Poland. Napoleon one day passed by a column of infantry in the neighbourhood of Nasielsk, where the troops were suffering the greatest privations, on account of the mud, which prevented the arrival of provisions. 'Papa, kleba?' exclaimed a soldier. 'Niema,' replied the emperor. The whole column burst into a fit of laughter; they asked for nothing more.

"One evening at the theatre, when the curtain was very late of rising, a grenadier, who was among the spectators, became impatient at the delay. 'Begin!' he called out from the further end of the pit, 'begin directly, or I will not cross the Vistula.'"—*Rapp's Memoirs.* (*Editor.*)

to conceive the effect it produced on the whole army. The corps stationed in the rear burned to pass, by forced marches, the space which still separated them from head-quarters; and those who were nearer the emperor, forgot their fatigues and privations, and were only anxious to encounter the enemy. They frequently could not understand what Napoleon said in these proclamations; but no matter for that: they would have followed him cheerfully barefooted and without provisions. Such was the enthusiasm, or rather the fanaticism, which Napoleon could inspire among his troops, when he thought proper to *rouse* them, as he termed it.

When, on a former occasion, I spoke of the Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, and his family, I forgot a circumstance respecting my intercourse with him, which now occurs to my memory. When, on his expulsion from his states, after the battle of Jena, he took refuge in Altona, he requested, through the medium of his minister at Hamburg, Count Plessen, that I would give him permission occasionally to visit that city. This permission I granted without hesitation; but the duke observed no precaution in his visits, and I made some observations to him on the subject. I knew the object of his visits. It was a secret connexion in Hamburg; but in consequence of my observations, he removed the lady to Altona, and assured me that he adopted that determination to avoid committing me. He afterwards came very seldom to Hamburg; but as we were on the best understanding with Denmark, I frequently saw his daughter and son-in-law, who used to visit me at a house I had in Holstein, near Altona. There I likewise saw, almost every day, the Duke of Weimar, an excellent old man. I had the advantage of being on such terms of intimacy with him, that my house was in some measure his. He also had lost his states. I was so happy as to contribute to their restitution, for my situation enabled me to exercise some influence on the political indulgences or severities of the government. I entertained a sincere regard for the Duke of Weimar, and I greatly regretted his departure. No sooner had he arrived in Berlin, than he wrote me a letter of thanks, to which he added the present of a diamond, in token of his grateful remembrance of me. The Duke of Mecklenburgh was not so fortunate as the Duke of Weimar, in spite of his alliance with the reigning family of Denmark. He was obliged to remain at Altona until the July following; for his states were restored only by the treaty of Tilsit. As soon as it was known that the emperor had returned to Paris, the duke's son, the hereditary prince, visited me in Hamburg, and asked me whether I thought he could present himself to the emperor, for the purpose of expressing his own and his father's gratitude. He was a very well-educated young man. He set out, accompanied by M. Oertzen and Baron Brandstaten.

Some time afterwards I saw his name in the Moniteur, in one of the lists of presentations to Napoleon, the collection of which, during the empire, might be regarded as a general register of the nobility of Europe.

It is commonly said that we may accustom ourselves to any thing, but to me this remark is subject to an exception; for in spite of the necessity to which I was reduced of employing spies, I never could surmount the disgust I felt at them, especially when I saw men destined to fill a respectable rank in society degrade themselves to that infamous profession. It is impossible to conceive the artifices to which these men resort to gain the confidence of those whom they wish to betray. Of this the following example just now occurs to my mind:

One of those wretches who are employed in certain circumstances, and by all parties, came to offer his services to me. His name was Butler, and he had been sent from England to the continent as a spy upon the French government. He immediately came to me, complained of pretended enemies and unjust treatment. He told me he had the greatest wish to serve the emperor, and that he would make any sacrifice to prove his fidelity. The real motive of his change of party was, as it is with all such men, merely the hope of a higher reward. Most extraordinary were the schemes he adopted to prevent his old employers from suspecting that he was serving new ones. To me he continually repeated how happy he was to be revenged on his enemies in London. He asked me to allow him to go to Paris to be examined by the minister of police. The better to keep up the deception, he requested, that on his arrival in Paris he might be confined in the Temple, and that there might be inserted in the French journals an announcement in the following terms: "John Butler, commonly called Count Butler, has just been arrested and sent to Paris under a good escort, by the French minister at Hamburg." At the expiration of a few weeks, Butler, having received his instructions, set out for London, but by way of precaution, he said it would be well to publish in the journals another announcement, which was as follows: "John Butler, who has been arrested in Hamburg as an English agent, and conveyed to Paris, is ordered to quit France, and the territories occupied by the French armies and their allies, and not to appear there again until the general peace." In England Butler enjoyed the honours of French persecution. He was regarded as a victim who deserved all the confidence of the enemies of France. He furnished Fouché with a considerable deal of information, and he was fortunate enough to escape being hanged. Who indeed would not have been duped by such an imposition? Truly there are some crimes which only those who are guilty of them can suspect!

Notwithstanding the pretended necessity of employing secret

agents, Bonaparte was unwilling that, even under that pretext, too many communications should be established between France and England. Meanwhile Fouché actively directed the evolutions of his secret army. Ever ready to seize on any thing that could give importance to the police, and encourage the suspicions of the emperor, Fouché wrote to me, that the government had received certain information, *that many Frenchmen, travelling for commercial houses in France, were at Manchester purchasing articles of English manufacture. This was true:* but how was it to be prevented. These travelling clerks passed through Holland, where they easily procured a passage to England.

Louis Bonaparte, conceiving that the King of Holland ought not to sacrifice the interests of his new subjects to the wishes of his brother, was at first very lenient as to the disastrous continental system. But at this Napoleon soon manifested his displeasure, and about the end of the year 1806, Louis was reduced to the necessity of ordering the strict observance of the blockade. The facility with which the travellers of French commercial houses passed from Holland to England gave rise to other alarms on the part of the French government. It was said, that since Frenchmen could so easily pass from the continent to Great Britain, the agents of the English cabinet might, by the same means, find their way to the continent. Accordingly, the consuls were directed to keep a watchful eye, not only upon individuals who evidently came from England, but upon those who might by any possibility come from that country. This plan was all very well, but how was it to be put into execution? . . . . The continent was, nevertheless, inundated with articles of English manufacture, for this simple reason, that, however powerful may be the will of a sovereign, it is still less powerful, and less lasting, than the wants of a people. The continental system reminded me of the law created by an ancient legislator, who, for a crime which he conceived could not possibly be committed, condemned the person who should be guilty of it to throw a bull across Mount Taurus.

CHAPTER II.

1807.

Creation of the kingdom of Saxony—Veneration of Germany for the King of Saxony—The emperor's uncertainty respecting Poland—Fêtes and reviews at Warsaw—The French government at the emperor's head-quarters—Ministerial portfolios sent to Warsaw—Military preparations during the month of January—Difference of our situation during the campaigns of Vienna and Prussia—News received and sent—Conduct of the cabinet of Austria similar to that of the cabinet of Berlin—Battle of Eylau—Unjust accusation against Bernadotte—Death of General d'Hautpoult—Te Deum chanted by the Russians—Gardanne's mission to Persia—Abuse of military power—Defence of diplomatic rights—Marshal Brune.

It is not my present design to trace a picture of the state of Europe at the close of 1806. I will merely throw together a few facts which came to my knowledge at the time, and which I find in my correspondence. I have already mentioned that the emperor arrived at Warsaw on the 1st of January. During his stay at Posen, he had, by virtue of a treaty concluded with the Elector of Saxony, founded a new kingdom, and consequently extended his power in Germany, by the annexment of the kingdom of Saxony to the confederation of the Rhine. By the terms of this treaty, Saxony, so justly famed for her cavalry, was to furnish the emperor with a contingent of twenty thousand men and horses.

It was quite a new spectacle to the princes of Germany, all accustomed to old habits of etiquette, to see an upstart sovereign treat them as subjects, and even oblige them to consider themselves as such. Those famous Saxons, who had made Charlemagne tremble, threw themselves on the protection of the emperor; and the alliance of the head of the house of Saxony was not a matter of indifference to Napoleon; for the new king was, on account of his age, his tastes, and his character, more revered than any other German prince.

From the moment of Napoleon's arrival at Warsaw, until the commencement of hostilities against the Russians, he was continually solicited to re-establish the throne of Poland, and to restore its chivalrous independence to the ancient empire of the Jagellons. A person who was at that time in Warsaw told me, that the emperor was in the greatest uncertainty as to what he

ARRIVAL OF NAPOLEON AMONG THE BAVARIANS AND SAXONS.

should do respecting Poland. He was entreated to re-establish that ancient and heroic kingdom; but he came to no decision, preferring, according to custom, to submit to events that he might appear to command them. At Warsaw, indeed, the emperor passed a great part of his time in fêtes and reviews, which, however, did not prevent him from watching, with his eagle eye, every department of the public service, both interior and exterior.* He himself was in the capital of Poland; but his vast influence was present every where. I heard Duroc say, when we were conversing together about the campaign of Tilsit, that Napoleon's activity and intelligence were never more conspicuously developed.

One very remarkable feature of the imperial wars was, that with the exception of the interior police, of which Fouché was the soul, the whole government of France was at the head-quarters of the emperor. At Warsaw, Napoleon's attention was not only occupied with the affairs of his army, but he directed the whole machinery of the French government just the same as if he had been in Paris. Daily estafettes, and frequently the useless auditors of the council of state, brought him reports more or less correct, and curious disclosures, which were frequently the invention of the police. The portfolios of the ministers arrived every week, with the exception of those of the minister for foreign affairs, and the minister of the war department; the former had first stopped at Mentz with the empress, but had been called on to Warsaw; and the latter, Clarke, was, for the misfortune of Berlin, governor of that city. This state of things lasted during the ten months of the emperor's absence from Paris. Louis XIV. said, "I am myself the State." Napoleon did not say this; but, in fact, under his reign the government of France was always at his head-quarters. This

* "Our halt at Warsaw was delightful. With the exception of theatres, the city presented all the gaieties of Paris. Twice a week the emperor gave a concert; after which a court was held, which led again to numerous meetings in private parties. On these occasions, the personal beauty and graceful manners of the Polish ladies were conspicuous. It may truly be said that they excited the jealousy of the most charming women of other nations. With the most polished elegance they combine a fund of information, which is not usually found even among Frenchwomen; and they are very superior to the generality of females bred in cities, to whom habit renders company almost a necessary of life. The Polish ladies of rank always pass one half of the year in the country, where probably they apply themselves to reading and the cultivation of their minds; and they return to spend the winter-season in the capital, graced with those talents and accomplishments which render them so peculiarly attractive.

"The emperor and all the French officers paid their tribute of admiration to the charms of the fair Poles. There was one whose powerful fascinations made a deep impression on the emperor's heart. He conceived an ardent affection for her, which she cordially returned. She received with pride the homage of a conquest which was the consummation of her happiness. It is needless to name her, when I observe that her attachment remained unshaken amidst every danger, and that, at the period of Napoleon's reverses, she continued his faithful friend."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (*Editor.*)

circumstance had wellnigh proved fatal to him, on the occasion of the extraordinary conspiracy of Mallet, with some points of which I alone, perhaps, am thoroughly acquainted. The emperor employed the month of January in military preparations for the approaching attack of the Russians, but at the same time he did not neglect the business of the cabinet: with him nothing was suffered to linger in the rear.

While Napoleon was at Warsaw, a battle was not the only thing to be thought about; affairs were much more complicated than during the campaign of Vienna. It was necessary, on the one hand, to observe Prussia, which was occupied; and on the other, to anticipate the Russians, whose movements indicated that they were inclined to strike the first blow. In the preceding campaign, Austria, before the taking of Vienna, was engaged alone. The case was different now: Austria had had only soldiers; and Prussia, as Blucher declared to me, was beginning to have citizens. There was no difficulty in returning from Vienna, but a great deal in returning from Warsaw, in case of failure, notwithstanding the creation of the kingdom of Saxony, and the provisional government given to Prussia, and to the other states of Germany which we had conquered. None of these considerations escaped the penetration of Napoleon: nothing was omitted in the notes, letters, and official correspondence which came to me from all quarters. Receiving, as I did, accurate information from my own correspondents of all that was passing in Germany, it often happened that I transmitted to the government the same news which it transmitted to me, not supposing that I previously knew it. Thus, for example, I thought I was apprizing the government of the arming of Austria, of which I received information from headquarters a few days after.

During the Prussian campaign, Austria played precisely the game which Prussia had played during the campaign of Austria. There was indecision on the one part, and indecision on the other. As Prussia had, before the battle of Austerlitz, awaited the success or defeat of the French, to decide whether she should remain neutral, or declare herself against France; so Austria, doubtless supposing that Russia would be more fortunate as the ally of Prussia, than she had been as *her* ally, assembled a corps of forty thousand men in Bohemia. That corps was called an army of observation; but the nature of these armies of observation is well known; they belong to the class of armed neutralities, like the ingenious invention of sanitary cordons. The fact is, that the forty thousand men assembled in Bohemia were destined to aid and assist the Russians in case they should be successful: and what reasonable man can blame the Austrian government for wishing for a vengeance which should wash away the shame of the treaty of Presburg. Napoleon had not a moment to lose, but his activity required no

Gros p.

CHAMP DE BATAILLE D'EYLAU

THE FIELD OF BATTLE—EYLAU.

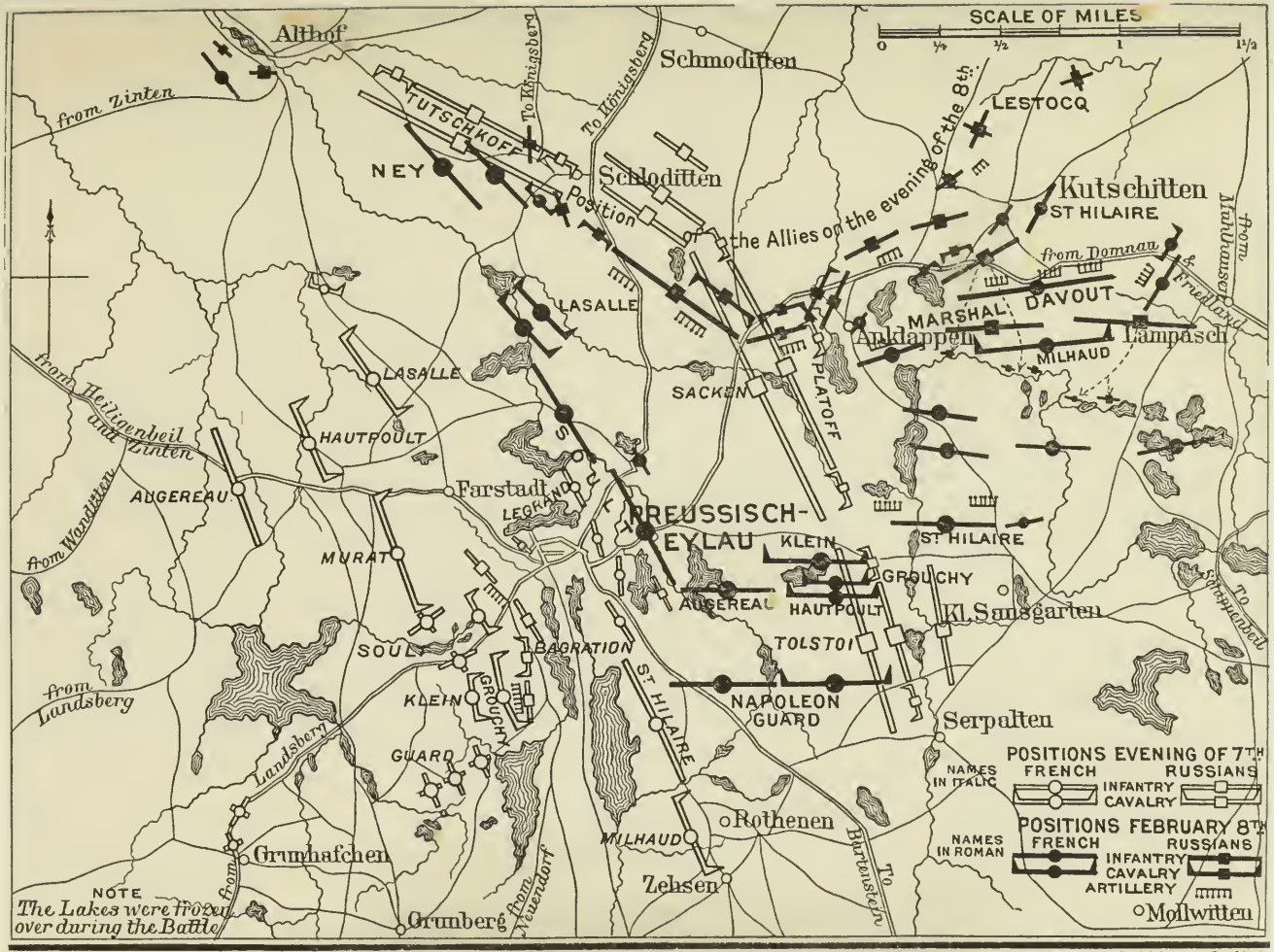
The battle of Eylau, fought on the 8th of February, 1807, was a scene of carnage which lasted from morning until night, and the result presented a most horrible scene. Let any one imagine to himself, upon the space of a square league, nine or ten thousand dead bodies, four or five thousand horses killed, whole lines of Russian knapsacks, broken pieces of muskets and sabres, the ground covered with cannon balls, howitzer shells, and ammunition, twenty-four pieces of cannon, near which were lying the bodies of their drivers, killed at the moment when they were striving to carry them off!—and all this was the more conspicuous, as the ground was covered with snow.

About noon on the 9th, Napoleon rode over the field. The Emperor stopped continually to question the wounded, to console and succour as many as possible. The Russians, instead of the death they expected, found a generous conqueror, and prostrating themselves before him, held up their hands in token of their gratitude.

The Emperor, mounted upon a light bay horse, was accompanied by Princes Murat and Berthier, Marshals Soult, Davoust, Bessieres, and General Caulaincourt, Mouton, Gardaune, and Le Brun.

The original painting of this subject, by M. Gros, is now in the Luxembourg, and measures 16 feet by 4.

MARBOT'S SOLDIERS FORAGING ON THE RETREAT.



MAP OF THE BATTLE OF EYLAU.

spur: he had hastened the battle of Austerlitz to anticipate Prussia, and he now found it necessary to anticipate Russia, in order to keep Austria in a state of indecision.

The emperor, therefore, left Warsaw about the end of January, and immediately gave orders for engaging the Russian army in the beginning of February; but, in spite of his desire of commencing the attack, he was anticipated. On the 8th of February, at seven in the morning, he was attacked by the Russians, who advanced during a terrible storm of snow, which fell in large flakes. They approached Preussich-Eylau, where the emperor was, and the imperial guard stopped the Russian column. Nearly the whole French army was engaged in that battle, one of the most sanguinary ever fought in Europe. The corps commanded by Bernadotte was not engaged in the contest: it had been stationed on the left at Mohrungen, whence it menaced Dantzic. The issue of the battle would have been very different, had the four divisions of infantry, and the two of cavalry, composing Bernadotte's corps, arrived in time; but, unfortunately, the officer instructed to convey orders to Bernadotte to march without delay on Preussich-Eylau, was taken by a body of Cossacks: Bernadotte, therefore, did not arrive. Bonaparte, who always liked to throw blame on some one if things did not turn out exactly as he wished, attributed the doubtful success of the day to the absence of Bernadotte: in this he was right; but to make that absence a reproach to the marshal was a gross injustice. Bernadotte was accused of not having been willing to march on Preussich-Eylau, though, as it was alleged, General d'Hautpoult had informed him of the necessity of his presence. But how can that fact be ascertained, since General d'Hautpoult was killed on that same day? Who can assure us that that general was able to communicate directly and personally with Marshal Bernadotte?

Those who knew Bonaparte, his cunning, and the artful advantage he would sometimes take of words, which he attributed to the dead, will easily solve the enigma. The battle of Eylau was terrible:—night came on—Bernadotte's corps was constantly, but in vain, expected; and, after a great loss, the French army had the melancholy honour of passing the night on the field of battle. Bernadotte at length arrived, but too late. He met the enemy, who were retreating, without the fear of being molested, towards Koningsberg, the only capital remaining to Prussia. The King of Prussia was then at Memel, a small port on the Baltic, thirty leagues from Koningsberg.

After the battle of Eylau, both sides remained stationary; and several days elapsed without any thing remarkable taking place. The offers of peace made by the emperor, with very little earnestness it is true, were disdainfully rejected, as if a victory disputed with Napoleon was to be regarded as a triumph. The battle of Eylau seemed to turn the heads of the Russians, who

chanted "Te Deum" on the occasion. But while the emperor was making preparations to advance, his diplomacy was taking effect in a distant quarter, and raising up against Russia an old and formidable enemy. Turkey declared war against her. This was a powerful diversion, and obliged Russia to strip her western frontiers to secure a line of defence on the south.*

Some time after General Gardanne set out on the famous embassy to Persia; for which the way had been paved by the success of the mission of my friend, Amédée Jaubert. This embassy was not merely one of those pompous legations, such as Charlemagne, Louis XIV., and Louis XVI., received from the Empress Irene, the King of Siam, and Tippoo Saib. It was connected with ideas which Bonaparte had conceived at the very dawn of his power. It was, indeed, the light from the East which first enabled him to see his greatness in perspective; and that light never ceased to fix his attention; and dazzle his imagination. I know well that Gardanne's embassy was, at first, conceived on a much grander scale than that on which it was executed. Napoleon had resolved to send to the Shah of Persia four thousand infantry, commanded by chosen and experienced officers; ten thousand muskets, and fifty pieces of cannon; and I also know that orders were given for the execution of this design. The avowed object of the emperor was to enable the Shah of Persia to make an important diversion, with eighty thousand men, in the eastern provinces of Russia. But there was likewise another, an old and constant object, which was always uppermost in Napoleon's mind, namely the wish to strike England in the very heart of her Asiatic possessions. Such was the principal motive of Gardanne's mission, but circumstances

* On this occasion the diplomacy of England was notoriously and shamefully at fault. A clever and determined ambassador at Constantinople might have kept the Turks quiet, but Mr. Arbuthnot, the resident minister, was not the man, and he was sick with a slow fever at the moment of crisis. The year before, when the Turks were on the point of going to war with Russia about Wallachia and Moldavia, they were bullied into peace by a young English diplomatist, who has since then made himself notorious in very different ways. This was the Honourable William Long Wellesley Pole, who was then second secretary to our embassy. Knowing that the Divan were coming to a decision, he left the ambassador's house at Buyukderré, mounted his horse, and galloped to Constantinople, through a torrent of rain. He never stopped till he reached the Porte, where he leaped out of his saddle and presented himself to the divan of ministers, with his whip in his hand, and covered all over with mud. He

"Looked not lovingly on that divan."

He stormed the Turks to their beards—he threatened them with annihilation, and drawing on his imagination for his facts, he swore to them that a tremendous English fleet which had already set out from Gibraltar, would force the passage of the Dardanelles, and be before Constantinople in a few days, to dictate the law to the sultan. The Turks, terrified out of their senses instantly came to terms for the nonce.—See *Juchereau de Saint Denis' Révolution de Constantinople.* (*Editor.*)

THE FOURTEENTH OF THE LINE AT EYLAU.

BUILDING THE BRIDGE AT THE ISLAND OF LOBAU.

(Napoleon and General Bertrand in the foreground, village of Ebersdorf in the distance.)

did not permit the emperor to give it all the importance he desired. He contented himself with sending a few officers of engineers and artillery to Persia, who, on their arrival, were astonished at the number of English they found there.

Meanwhile the internal affairs of the towns over which my diplomatic jurisdiction extended soon gave me more employment than ever. The greatest misfortune of the empire was, perhaps, the abuse of the right arrogated by the wearers of epaulettes. My situation gave me an opportunity of observing all the odious character of a military government. Another, in my place, could not have done all that I did. I say this confidently; for my situation was a distinct and independent one, as Bonaparte had told me. Being authorized to correspond directly with the emperor, the military chiefs feared, if they did not yield to my just representations, that I would make private reports: this apprehension was wonderfully useful in enabling me to maintain the rights of the towns, which had adopted me as their first citizen.

A circumstance occurred in which I had to defend the rights of the diplomatic and commercial agents against the pretensions of military power. Marshal Brune, during his government at Hamburg, went to Bremen, to watch the strict execution of the illusive blockade against England. The marshal, acting, no doubt, in conformity with the instructions of Clarke, then minister of war, and governor of Berlin, wished to arrogate the right of deciding on the captures made by our cruisers.

He attempted to prevent the consul Lagau from selling the confiscated ships, in order to sell them himself. Of this M. Lagau complained to me. The more I observed a disposition to encroach on the part of the military authorities, the more I conceived it necessary to maintain the rights of the consuls, and to favour their influence, without which they would have lost their consideration. To the complaints of M. Lagau, I replied "That to him alone belonged the right of deciding in the first instance, on the fate of the ships: that he could not be deprived of that right without changing the law: that he was free to sell the confiscated Prussian ships: that Marshal Brune was at Bremen only for the execution of the decree respecting the blockade of England, and that he ought not to interfere in business unconnected with that decree." Lagau showed this letter to Brune, who then allowed him to do as he wished; but it was an affair of profit, and the marshal, for a long time, owed me a grudge.

Bernadotte was exceedingly disinterested; but he loved to be talked about. The more the emperor endeavoured to throw accusations upon him, the more he was anxious to give publicity to all his actions. He sent to me an account of the brilliant affair of Braunsburg, in which a division of the first corps had been particularly distinguished. Along with this narrative, he

sent me a note in the following terms: "I send you, my dear minister, an account of the affair of Braunsburg. You will, perhaps, think proper to publish it. In that case, I shall be obliged by your getting it inserted in the Hamburg journals." I did so. The injustice of the emperor, and the bad way in which he spoke of Bernadotte, obliged the latter for the sake of his own credit, to make the truth known to the world.

CHAPTER III.

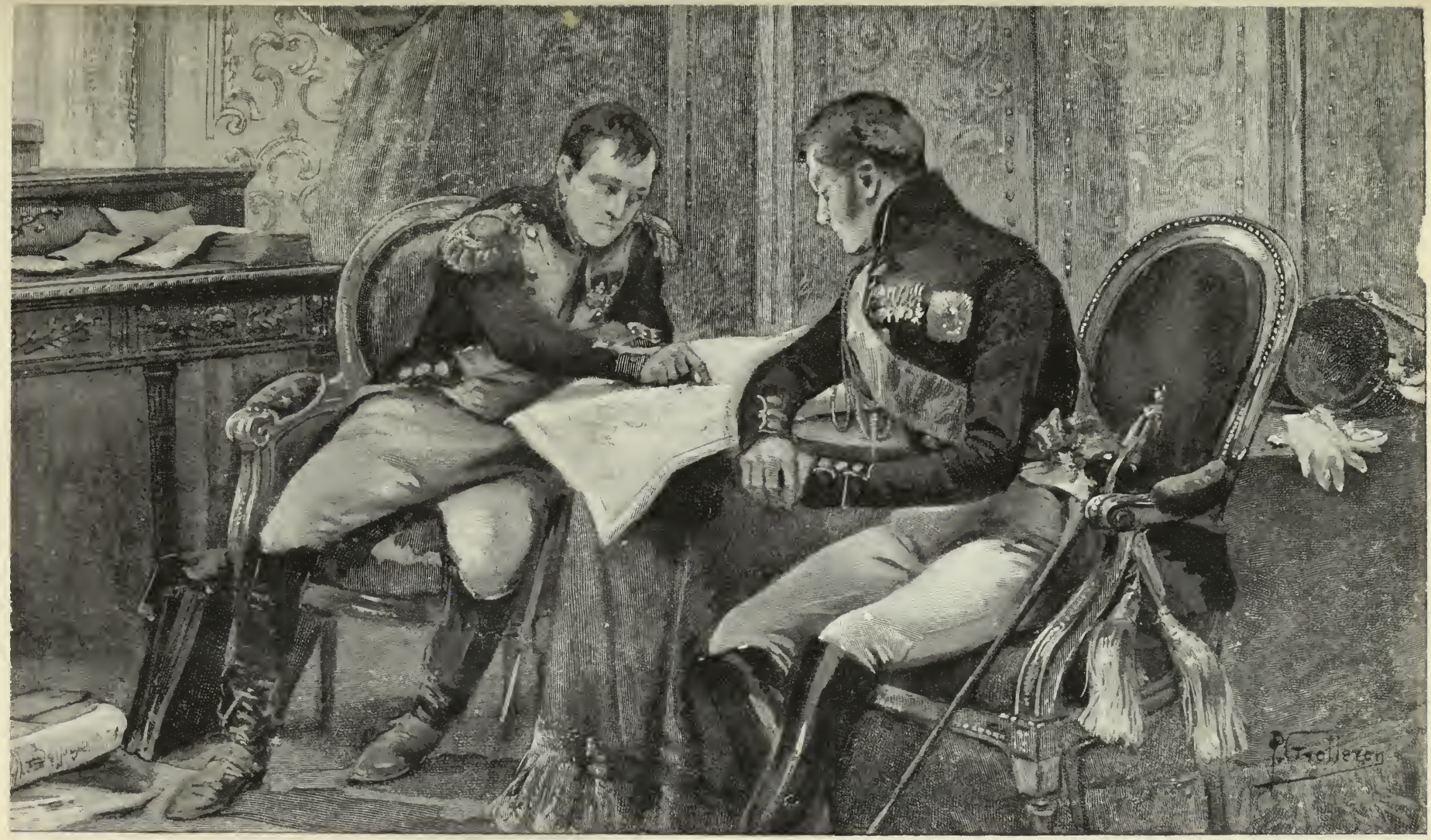
1807.

Army supplies—English cloth and leather—M. de Gimel's successor—Double appointment at London and Mittau—M. Hue, valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI.—Arrest on a charge of libel—M. Hue's arrival at Altona—Fresh arrivals of emigrants—Baron d'Imbert and General Danican—Colonel de Blacas in the Swedish service—Command accepted by Dumouriez—Despatch from M. de Talleyrand—A page of Napoleon's glory—Interview between the two emperors at Tilsit—Silesia restored to the Queen of Prussia—The Prince of Wittgenstein—Commercial treaty between England and Russia—Mediation of Russia offered to England—Reply of Mr. Canning—The Prince of Wales and Mr. Canning favourable to peace—Unfortunate situation of Prussia—Impossibility of re-establishing Poland in 1807—Foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia—The grand duchy of Warsaw and the King of Saxony.

I HAVE mentioned that I received an order from the emperor to supply fifty thousand cloaks for the army. With this order, which was not the only one I received of the same kind, some circumstances were connected, which I may take the present opportunity of explaining.

The emperor gave me so many orders for army clothing, that all that could be supplied by the cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, would have been insufficient for executing the commissions. I entered into a treaty with a house in Hamburg, which I authorized, in spite of the Berlin decree, *to bring cloth and leather from England.* Thus I procured these articles in a sure and cheap way. Our troops might have perished of cold, had the continental system, and the absurd mass of inexecutable decrees relative to English merchandise, been observed.

At the beginning of 1807, my occupations at Hamburg were divided between the furnishing of supplies for the army, and the inspection of the emigrants whom Fouché pretended to dread, in order to give greater importance to his office. M. de Gimel was now dead. I had informed Fouché of that event, and he desired me to send him all the information I could col-



GROLLERON.

NAPOLEON AND ALEXANDER AT TILSIT STUDYING THE MAP OF EUROPE.

lect respecting the individual who might be appointed M. de Gimel's successor. M. de la Chapelle made choice of M. Maillard, and as soon as I ascertained this fact, I sent to Fouché a description of M. Maillard, whose portrait could not possibly have been flattered without depriving it of all resemblance. I had learned, by a letter from Count Dumoustier, who was then in England, that Maillard had been commander of the gendarmerie at Valenciennes, and prévôt of the army of Condé. Count Dumoustier had described him as a brutal, obstinate, and exceedingly narrow-minded man, and he finished his portrait with the following remark: "The king's cause must be desperate indeed, when such fellows are chosen to support it." M. Maillard was sent from London to Altona to succeed M. de Gimel as agent of the emigrants; but at the same time Louis XVIII. had given the appointment to M. Grémion, an inhabitant of Holstein. However, both these nominations were merely provisional, and I ascertained that M. Hue was definitively appointed to succeed M. de Gimel as agent for the emigrants. M. Hue was expected at Altona in the beginning of May. He was that faithful servant of Louis XVI. who shared his master's captivity, and to whom honourable immortality is bequeathed in the will of the unfortunate sovereign. His name must have recalled strange recollections to Fouché, who wished that I should be doubly vigilant. His distrust, real or feigned, of the emigrants, was such, that he more than once directed me to keep watch upon persons who were very far from supposing themselves to be objects of the slightest suspicion.

I never let slip an opportunity of mitigating the rigour of Fouché's orders, which, indeed, were sometimes so absurd, that I did not attempt to execute them. Of this the following instance just now occurs to my recollection: A printer at Hamburg had been arrested on the charge of having printed a libel in the German language. The man was detained in prison because, very much to his honour, he would not disclose the name of the writer of the pamphlet. I sent for him and questioned him: he told me, with every appearance of sincerity, that he had never but once seen the man who had brought him the manuscript. I was convinced of the truth of what he said, and I gave an order for his liberation. To avoid irritating the susceptibility of the minister of police, I wrote to him the following few lines: "The libel is the most miserable rhapsody imaginable. The author, probably with the view of selling his pamphlet in Holstein, predicts that Denmark will conquer every other nation, and become the greatest kingdom in the world. This trait alone will suffice to prove to you how little danger there is in fooleries, written in the style of the Apocalypse."

M. Hue was expected at Altona in the beginning of May, but he did not arrive until the 20th. He had left London on the

15th. I was assured that several emigrants had taken the opportunity of coming with him on board the packet-boat. This was true, and some emigrants arrived, who were by no means the most select of that body. Among them was a Baron d'Imbert, who was accompanied by a Sieur Louis, his secretary, and MM. Barthélemy and Plagnés. In a list which Fouché had sent me, Barthélemy was designated as a clerk, on board the corvette Tantallen, and Plagnés as an officer in the marines. D'Imbert maintained that he had been banished from England with the three individuals who accompanied him, on account of a demand of 5000*l.* which he had made upon Mr. Cooke, one of the under secretaries of state, on account of advances to agents whom he, d'Imbert, had sent to France in obedience to the instructions of the English ministry. D'Imbert added, that it had been found convenient to evade the payment of this sum by banishing him. I indeed saw it stated in the English journals at the time, that two French emigrants, Martello and Dublin, were arrested in London, and that thirty emigrants were about to be sent from England. Among the latter appeared the name of Baron d'Imbert and also that of General Danican, who opposed the convention and led the sections who were termed rebels, on the 13th Vendémiaire. It is well known how Danican fell beneath the tact and boldness of the young General Bonaparte. He escaped, by flight, the sentence of death pronounced upon him by a court-martial. He afterwards became a constant, though not a very able, agent of the royalists. On the 20th of May, Danican arrived at Altona from London. As it was alleged that he would certainly come to Hamburg to see one of his friends, I sent a description of him to the commander of the gendarmerie.

Danican said he was going to Sweden, whither he had been summoned by the king, who was making every exertion to recruit the enemies of France. He had seen the German Legion embark. Twenty men belonging to that legion had attempted to escape, and had been conveyd to London in irons. According to the account given by Danican, the legion was more favourable to the French than to the English. I also learned from Danican, who related all these circumstances at his inn, in the presence of some one who reported them to me, that the Sieur Derolle, a man in the confidence of the Count d'Artois, having swindled 30,000 francs of the property left by Pichegru, and being prosecuted for that offence by Count de la Chapelle, division was sown in the party, because the Count d'Artois wished to defend his favourite Derolle. Danican, on the part of the English government, made some propositions to the Sieur Belcombe (the Abbé Delamarre). The latter rejected them, saying, "What reliance can be placed on a government that chooses Fauche-Borel as its confidential agent?" This was in allusion to what Danican had said to him some months before, viz., that

FROM THE PAINTING BY LIONEL ROYER.

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY THE ARTIST.

ENGRAVED BY M. HAIDER.

NAPOLEON DECORATING THE RUSSIAN GRENADIER AT TILSIT.

Mr. Hammond saw only with the eyes of Fauche-Borel, and acted only by his counsels.

Danican came once to Hamburg, but the gendarmes missed him, and took another Frenchman for him. He returned to England on the 29th of July. I do not know what prevented his going to the King of Sweden, as he announced his intention of doing. In his furious animosity against *Monsieur Bonaparte*, the King of Sweden published all his communications with the Bourbons. I read in a bulletin, dated Stralsund, "Colonel Count de Blacas, sent on a special mission from Louis XVIII., has arrived here from Mittau, and this day had an audience of his majesty."

Among the newly-arrived emigrants there was another, who, from the part he had played at the commencement of the revolution, possessed a degree of importance different from that of Baron d'Imbert and General Danican. He has been frequently mentioned in the course of these memoirs. I allude to Dumouriez. That general had, for a long time, been commander-in-chief in a pamphlet war against the French government, and he at length determined to take up the arms he had formerly borne. One of my agents in London informed me, that, after a great deal of tergiversation, Dumouriez had accepted the command of the Swedish troops which were to be landed at Stralsund, and to which was to be joined the Hanoverian legion, then at sea. But, during all this hesitation, Napoleon, who never hesitated, was advancing by giant strides, though not without considerable difficulty, on the confines of Russia, while his able lieutenants were conquering provinces in the north of Prussia on an immense line of operations.

After the battle of Eylau, I received a despatch from M. Talleyrand, to which was added an account in French of that memorable battle, which was more fatal to the conqueror than to the other party; I cannot say the conquered, in speaking of the Russians; the more especially when I recollect the precautions which were then taken throughout Germany to make known the French before the Russian version. The emperor was exceedingly anxious that every one should view that event as he himself viewed it. Other accounts than his might have produced an unfavourable impression in the north. I therefore had orders to publish that account. I caused two thousand copies of it ot be published, which were more than sufficient for circulation in the Hanse Towns and their territories.

The reader will perhaps complain that I have been almost silent with respect to the grand manœuvres of the French army from the battle of Eylau to that of Friedland, where, at all events, our success was indisputable. There was no necessity for printing favourable versions of that event, and, besides, its immense results were soon felt throughout Europe. The interview at Tilsit is one of the culminating points of modern history, and

the waters of the Niemen reflected the image of Napoleon at the height of his glory. The interview between the two emperors at Tilsit, and the melancholy situation of the King of Prussia, are generally known. I was made acquainted with but few secret details relative to those events; for Rapp had gone to Dantzic, and it was he who most readily communicated to me all that the emperor said and did, and all that was passing around him.*

I, however, learned one circumstance peculiarly worthy of remark, which occurred in the emperor's apartments at Tilsit, the first time he received a visit from the King of Prussia. That unfortunate monarch, who was accompanied by Queen Wilhelmina, had taken refuge in a mill beyond the town. This was his sole habitation, whilst the emperors occupied the two portions of the town, which is divided by the Niemen. The fact I am about to relate reached me indirectly through the medium of an officer of the imperial guard, who was on duty in Napoleon's apartments and was an eyewitness of it. When the Emperor Alex-

* Savary gives the following interesting account of the interview between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit:

"The Emperor Napoleon, whose courtesy was manifest in all his actions, ordered a large raft to be floated in the middle of the river, upon which was constructed a room well covered in and elegantly decorated, having two doors on opposite sides, each of which opened into an antechamber. The work could not have been better executed in Paris. The roof was surmounted by two weathercocks: one displaying the eagle of Russia, and the other the eagle of France. The two outer doors were also surmounted by the eagles of the two countries.

"The raft was precisely in the middle of the river, with the two doors of the saloon facing the two opposite banks.

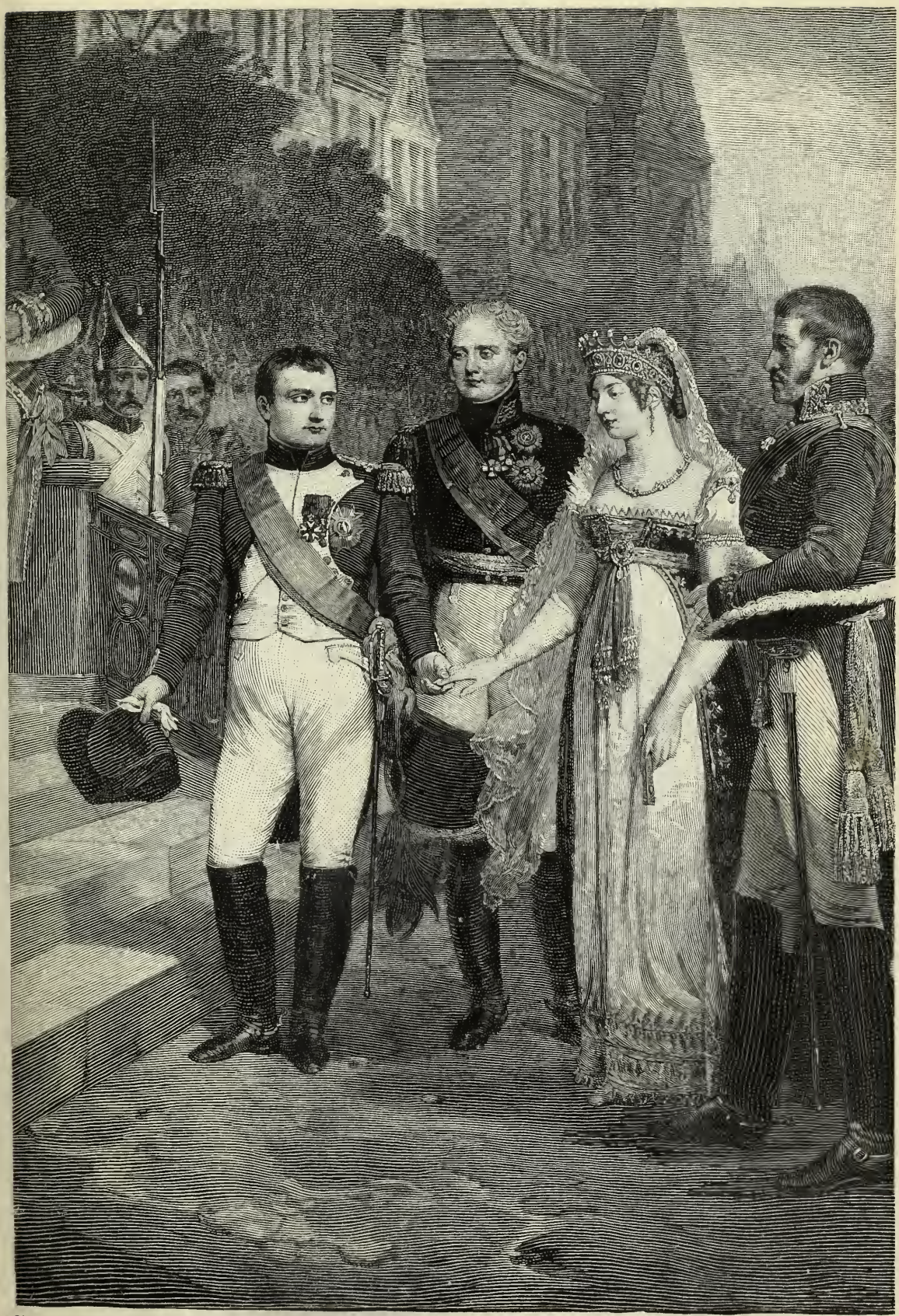
"The two sovereigns appeared on the banks of the river, and embarked at the same moment. But the Emperor Napoleon having a good boat, manned by marines of the guard, arrived first on the raft, entered the room, and went to the opposite door, which he opened, and then stationed himself on the edge of the raft to receive the Emperor Alexander, who had not yet arrived, not having such good rowers as the Emperor Napoleon.

"The two emperors met in the most amicable way, at least to all appearance. They remained together for a considerable time, and then took leave of each other with as friendly an air as that with which they had met.

"Next day the Emperor of Russia established himself at Tilsit with a battalion of his guard. Orders were given for evacuating that part of the town where he and his battalion were to be quartered; and though we were very much pressed for room, no encroachment on the space allotted to the Russians was thought of.

"On the day the Emperor Alexander entered Tilsit, the whole army was under arms. The imperial guard was drawn out in two lines of three deep from the landing-place to the Emperor Napoleon's quarters, and from thence to the quarters of the Emperor of Russia. A salute of one hundred guns was fired the moment Alexander stepped ashore, on the spot where the Emperor Napoleon was waiting to receive him. The latter carried his attention to his visiter so far, as to send from his quarters the furniture for Alexander's bedchamber. Among the articles sent was a camp-bed belonging to the emperor, which he presented to Alexander, who appeared much pleased with the gift.

"This meeting, the first which history records of the same kind and of equal importance, attracted visiters to Tilsit from a hundred leagues round. M. de Talleyrand arrived, and after the observance of the usual ceremonies, business began to be discussed."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (*Editor.*)



PAINTING BY NICOLAS-LOUIS-FRANÇOIS GOSSE, IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES.

ENGRAVED BY PETER AI

NAPOLEON RECEIVES THE QUEEN OF PRUSSIA AT TILSIT, JULY 6, 1807.

Berthon

ENTREVUE DE NAPOLÉON ET DE LA REINE DE PRUSSE.

NAPOLEON'S INTERVIEW WITH THE PRUSSIAN QUEEN

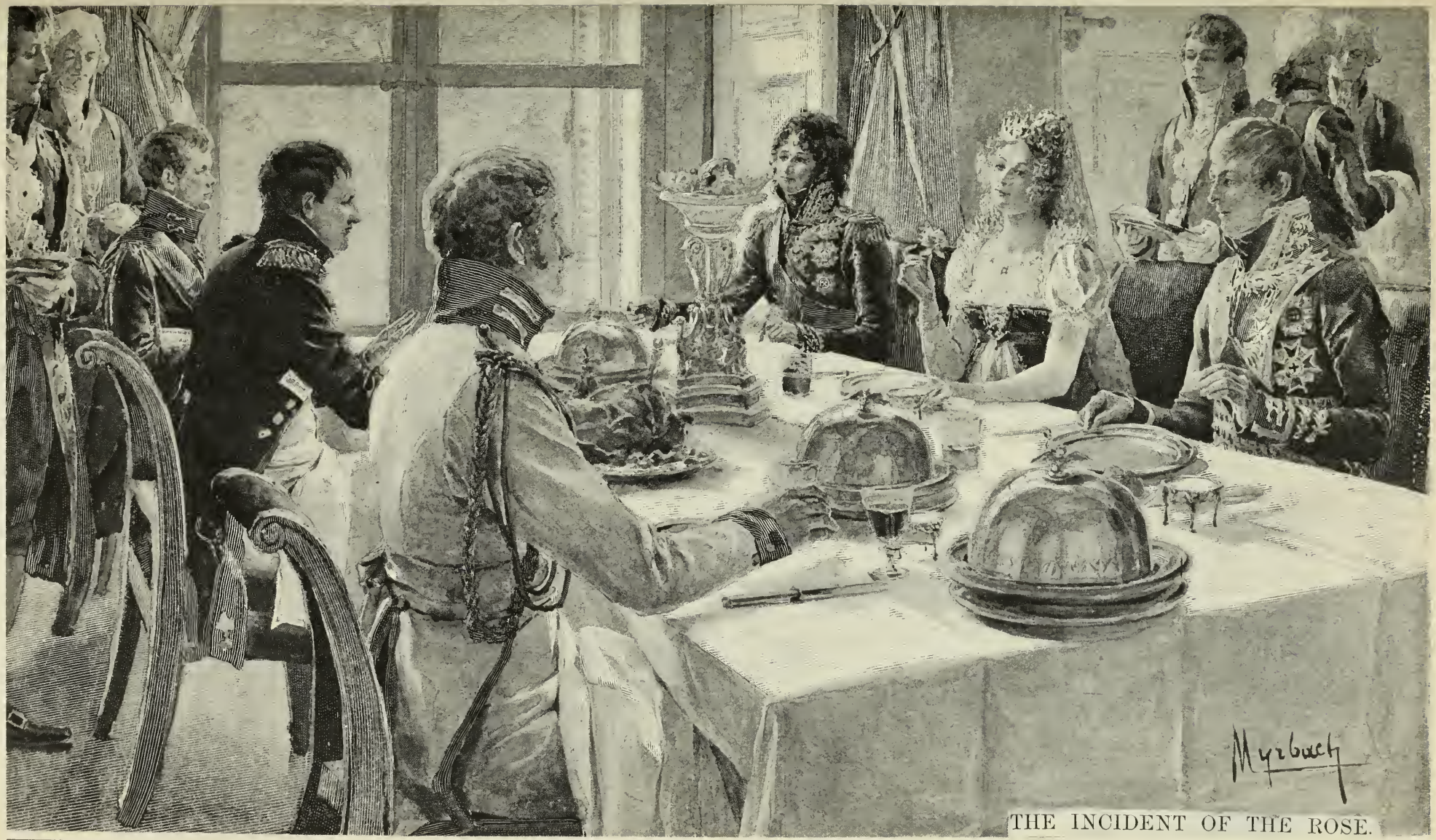
NAPOLEON RECEIVING THE QUEEN OF PRUSSIA AT TILSIT.

NAPOLEON has been accused of having hastened the death of this beautiful Princess by his treatment of her at Tilsit. It is said he admitted, that if she had been present at the commencement of the negotiations for peace, she would have had considerable influence upon their result. Napoleon observed that she received him in true tragic style—demanding, crying for justice, &c.

The Prussians were blind to Buonaparte's power. They had dared to combat with a hero!—to oppose themselves to the destinies of France, and reject the friendship of Napoleon. The Queen solicited, supplicated and implored; but in vain. Madgeburgh, above all, was the object she sought for.

The Emperor asked the Queen to dinner. Before they were seated, he took a very beautiful rose, and presented it to the Queen. The motion of her hand seemed to express a refusal; but rousing herself she said, "*Oui, mais au moins avec Madgeburgh.*" On this, the cruel Emperor replied, "I should observe to your Majesty, that it is I who give, and you who are to receive it." The dinner passed off in conversation indicative of similar temper.

On the morrow the Queen was not more happy; and was much enraged on learning that the treaty deprived her of Madgeburgh. She appears to have parted from the French Emperor with a feeling of perfect hatred.



THE INCIDENT OF THE ROSE.

DE MYRBACH. Constantine. Napoleon. Henry of Prussia. Murat. Queen. Prince Royal of Bavaria.

ander visited Napoleon, they continued for a long time in conversation on a balcony below, where an immense crowd hailed their meeting with enthusiastic shouts. Napoleon commenced the conversation, as he did the year preceding with the Emperor of Austria, by speaking of the uncertain fate of war. Whilst they were conversing, the King of Prussia was announced. The king's emotion was visible, and may easily be imagined; for as hostilities were suspended, and his territory in possession of the French, his only hope was in the generosity of the conqueror. Napoleon himself, it is said, appeared moved by his situation, and invited him, together with the queen, to dinner. On sitting down to table, Napoleon with great gallantry told the beautiful queen that he would restore to her Silesia, a province which she earnestly wished should be retained in the new arrangements which were necessarily about to take place.*

I was intimately acquainted with the Prince of Wittgenstein, during his residence at Hamburg. Without having any apparent mission, he nevertheless enjoyed all the confidence of the King of Prussia, to whom, on many occasions, his political talents and excellent advice were of great service. During the summer of 1807, the Prince of Wittgenstein proceeded to England. On his return he visited me, and informed me that a Russian courier from Taurroggen had arrived in London on the 30th of July, with very important despatches for M. Alopœus, the Russian minister in England. One of these despatches, which the Prince of Wittgenstein assured me he had read, stated, that there had not been sufficient time for sending copies of the treaties which had been signed at Tilsit. On the same day M. Alopœus despatched a courier to Russia with the commercial treaty which he had concluded and signed. I may here mention a circumstance connected with this commercial treaty between England and Russia, not, certainly, because the treaty is now of the slightest interest, but because the anecdote presents a striking example of British policy. The treaty was the same which M. Alopœus had proposed on his arrival in London at the beginning of March. At that time the English cabinet would not listen to it; but, step by step, as intelligence of the

* Las Casas mentions that, at the time of the treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon wrote to the Empress Josephine as follows:

"'The Queen of Prussia is really a charming woman. She is fond of coquetting with me; but do not be jealous: I am like a searcloth, along which every thing of this sort slides, without penetrating. It would cost me too dear to play the gallant.'

"On this subject, an anecdote was related in the saloon of Josephine. It was said that the Queen of Prussia one day had a beautiful rose in her hand, which the emperor asked her to give him. The queen hesitated for a few moments, and then presented it to him, saying, 'Why should I so readily grant what you request, while you remain deaf to all my entreaties?' She alluded to the fortress of Magdeburg, which she had earnestly solicited."—*Mémorial de St. Hélène.* (*Editor.*)

success of the French army reached London, the ministry yielded. Every fresh victory was followed by a new concession, until at length the treaty was concluded in the terms on which Russia had proposed. The Prince of Wittgenstein gave me some further particulars respecting what he had seen or learned in England. The day after M. Alopœus received from Tilsit the laconic despatch to which I have alluded, he formally offered to the court of London the mediation of Russia to effect the conclusion of a treaty of peace between France and England, preparatory to the re-establishment of a general peace. On the 1st of August, a grand council was held at Windsor, at which George III. was present. Two days after, Mr. Canning replied to M. Alopœus, but verbally, and every one knows the difference which exists in diplomatic transactions between writing and speaking. Mr. Canning's reply was, "that the court of London would accept the mediation of Russia, but only on condition of being furnished with copies of the public and private treaties, in order that the King of England might satisfy himself that they contained no stipulations contrary to the interests of his crown and his people." Mr. Canning added, "that as Austria had, previously to the commencement of the campaign, offered to mediate between the hostile powers, it would be proper that she should act in concert with Russia in the mediation now proposed—a proceeding which would be the more suitable on the part of Austria, as she herself had voluntarily suggested it." On the 19th of August, M. Alopœus despatched a courier to St. Petersburg with Mr. Canning's verbal answer.

Mr. Canning besides declared to M. Jacobi, the Prussian ambassador at London, "that the King of England deplored the misfortunes which had befallen his master; that he felt the greatest concern for him; but that, as the Prussian ports were closed against English ships, the interests of his people, and the honour of his flag, compelled him to adopt hostile measures against Prussia." Prince Wittgenstein, in addition to these particulars, informed me that the Prince of Wales, and especially Mr. Canning, strongly urged the necessity of peace; and that the majority of the English nation earnestly desired it. Under these circumstances how unfortunate was the situation of Prussia! and could any thing be more cruel on the part of the English government than to threaten Prussia with hostilities, because she had not opened her ports to British ships? Thus the two powers who so bitterly hated each other, seemed to agree upon one point, namely, the spoliation of Prussia. France occupied all her continental territory, and England coveted her seaports, in revenge for mishaps which it was impossible to attribute to any other cause than the inflexible law of necessity.*

* Mr. Canning wished for peace, but not on Bonaparte's conditions. With regard to Prussia, M. Bourrienne forgets her provoking tergiversation and ac-

IE PAINTING IN THE HOHENZOLLERN MUSEUM, BERLIN.

ENGRAVED BY VARLEY ON A HALF-TONE PLATE.

QUEEN LOUISA OF PRUSSIA.

LOUISA, QUEEN OF PRUSSIA.

From an engraving by Maria Anne Bourlier, after Dahling (1805).

London, 1807.

QUEEN LOUISA REVIEWING THE PRUSSIAN ARMY.

The treaty of peace concluded at Tilsit, between France and Russia, on the 7th of July, and ratified two days after, produced no less striking a change in the geographical division of Europe, than had been effected the year preceding by the treaty of Presburg. The treaty of Tilsit contained no stipulation dishonourable to Russia, whose territory was preserved inviolate; but how was Prussia treated! Some historians, for the vain pleasure of flattering, by posthumous praises, the pretended moderation of Napoleon, have almost reproached him for having suffered some remnants of the monarchy of the great Frederick to survive. There is, nevertheless, a point on which Napoleon has been wrongfully condemned, at least with reference to the campaign of 1807. It has been said that he should, at that period, have re-established the kingdom of Poland; and certainly, there is every reason to regret, for the interests of France and Europe, that it was not re-established. But when a desire, even founded on reason, is not carried into effect, should we conclude that the wished-for object ought to be achieved in defiance of all obstacles? At that time, that is to say, during the campaign of Tilsit, insurmountable obstacles existed.

If, however, by the treaty of Tilsit, the throne of Poland was not restored to serve as a barrier between old Europe and the empire of the czars, Napoleon founded a kingdom of Westphalia, which he gave to the young *Enseigne de Vaisseau*, whom he had scolded as a schoolboy, and whom he now made a king, that he might have another crowned prefect under his control.* The kingdom of Westphalia was composed of the states of Hesse-Cassel; of a part of the provinces taken from Prussia by the *moderation* of the emperor, and of the states of Paderborn, Fulde, Brunswick, and a part of the electorate of Hanover. Napoleon, at the same time, though he did not like to do things by halves, to avoid touching the Russian and Austrian provinces of old Poland, planted on the banks of the Vistula, the grand duchy of Warsaw, which he gave to the King of Saxony, with the intention of increasing or destroying it afterwards as he might find convenient. Thus he allowed the Poles to hope better things for the future; and ensured to himself partisans in the north, should the chances of fortune call him thither. Alexander, who was cajoled even more than his father had been, by what I may call the political coquetry of Napoleon, consented to all these arrangements, acknowledged, *in globo*, all the kings crowned by the emperor, and accepted some provinces which had belonged to his despoiled ally, the King of Prussia, doubt-

ceptance of Hanover. Moreover, as matters then stood, Prussian ports, and Prussian ships were to be considered as French, for Napoleon grasped all the kingdom as a master, and availed himself of all the resources of it.—*Editor.*

* This King of Westphalia was his brother, Jerome Bonaparte, who, unlike all the rest of the family, had scarcely a talent or a single good quality to recommend him.—*Editor.*

less by way of consolation for not having been able to get more restored to Prussia. The two emperors parted the best friends in the world; but the continental system was still in existence.

NOTES ON CAMPAIGN WITH RUSSIANS IN 1806—7.

The result of the campaign of Bonaparte against the Russians in 1806—7, cannot be stated, in a few words, better than in the following passage from a recent writer, who takes up the subject at the point when the French had entered into Poland with promises of liberty and national independence.

"French agents had previously penetrated into Russian Poland, and had spread a report that Kosciusko was at Napoleon's head-quarters. Napoleon had invited Kosciusko, who was then living in Switzerland, to come, but that single-minded patriot, mistrusting the views of the conqueror, declined the invitation.—*Mémoires de Michel Oginski sur la Pologne et les Polonais depuis* 1788 *jusqu'en* 1815.

"Napoleon received at his head-quarters at Posen, numerous addresses from various parts of Poland, entreating him to restore that country to its independence. His answers were cold and cautious. He began his winter campaign against the Russians by the battle of Pultusk (28th of December), in which the French experiencing a severe check, retired towards the Vistula. The month of January, 1807, passed without any engagements; but on the 8th of February, the great battle of Eylau was fought between the two grand armies. General Beningsen commanded the Russians. The French made repeated and furious attacks on the Russian infantry, which stood like walls of brass, and the assailants were at last obliged to desist. The battle lasted till near ten o'clock at night. The loss on both sides was dreadful; it has never been correctly ascertained, but has been roughly estimated at 50,000 men. After the battle Napoleon withdrew again to the line of the Vistula, and Beningsen retired towards Königsberg. There was no more fighting between the two armies for more than three months after. The French meantime besieged Dantzig, which was defended by the Prussian General Kalkreut, and surrendered at the end of May, 1807. Napoleon having now reinforced his army to 200,000 men, advanced again towards the Russians. On the 13th of June the battle of Friedland took place, in which, after an obstinate struggle, the Russians were at last worsted, and driven beyond the river Aller. They did not lose, however, either cannon or baggage, and they affected their retreat upon Tilsit, near the Russian frontiers.—Sir Robert Wil-

E PAINTING BY MEISSONIER.

IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY.

«1807»—FRIEDLAND.

R. del.

BATAILLE DE FRIEDLAND.

THE BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND

BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND.

On the 14th of June, 1807, the Russian General was compelled to accept battle. "This is a day of good fortune," said the French Emperor; "it is the anniversary of the battle of Marengo!" Believing that they had 15,000 men opposed to them, the Russians continued to march upon Kœnigsberg; but at five o'clock in the evening the different bodies of troops were in their place. Napoleon reconnoitred their positions, and decided to rase the city of Friedland; and Ney commenced operations. A battery of thirty cannons, placed in the centre, was the cause of severe loss to the Russians. The imperial Russian guard, lying in ambush in a ravine, intrepidly advanced, and charged the left wing of Ney's division, which was for a moment broken; but Dupont's division marched upon them, and committed a most horrible carnage among them. He would have made an attack upon their centre, but Lannes received them at the point of the bayonet. The field of battle at the conclusion was dreadful to behold; the Russians lost 18,000 men, while the French were minus only from 4 to 5000;—120 pieces of cannon, 20,000 prisoners, and an immense number of ensigns remained in the hands of the French.

son's *Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland in* 1806—7; and *Geschichte der Feldzüge Napoleons gegen Preussen und Russland in* 1806—7, Leipzig, 1809.

"As Bonaparte and Alexander both wished for peace, an armistice was made, and a personal interview took place between the two emperors on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen on the 25th of June. The two sovereigns after this took up their residence in the town of Tilsit, where the treaty of peace was finally signed. The king of Prussia was restored to about one-half of his former territories, as far as the Elbe. The duchy of Warsaw was given to the elector of Saxony, who was made a king, and became the faithful ally of Napoleon. The principal Prussian fortresses and seaport towns were to remain in the hands of the French till the general peace. Russia made no sacrifices; on the contrary she obtained a part of Prussian Poland. But there were secret articles to the treaty, by which France allowed Russia to take Finland from Sweden, and Russia, on her part, promised to close her ports against British vessels."—*Memoir of Bonaparte.* *P. C.*

The battle of Pultusk was even more than a severe check to the French, and had General Kaminskoy, who was then commander-in-chief, only done his duty, Bonaparte must have been involved in dreadful perplexities. But, as if a curse attended all the enemies of the prestiged Napoleon, Kaminskoy was deranged in his intellects, and a few weeks after he betrayed such symptons of downright madness, that he was removed from the command which was then intrusted to the brave and skilful Beningsen—the hero of this, as Blucher had been of the recent Prussian campaign. But, unluckily for Russia, Napoleon who could now dispose of so large a portion of Europe, had been allowed time to summon and press aid; and reinforcements from France, Switzerland, and the confederation of the Rhine were set in motion, and arrived in time for the decisive battle of Friedland, in which, as M. Bourrienne states, there could be no doubt that Bonaparte was the conqueror. Never, however, up to that day had he found a field so sternly contested.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER IV.

1807.

Effect produced at Altona by the treaty of Tilsit—The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin's departure from Hamburg—English squadron in the Sound—Bombardment of Copenhagen—Perfidy of England—Remark of Bonaparte to M. Lemercier—Prussia erased from the map—Napoleon's return to Paris Suppression of the tribunate—Obstinacy of Mustapha-Baraictar—Confiscation of English merchandise—Nine millions gained to France—M. Caulaincourt ambassador to Russia—Repugnance of England to the intervention of Russia—Affairs of Portugal—Junot appointed to command the army—The prince regent's departure for the Brazils—Heligoland taken by the English—M. Hue threatened with arrest—The Code Napoleon—Introduction of French laws into Germany—Leniency of Hamburg juries—The stolen cloak and the syndic Doormann.

The treaty of Tilsit, as soon as it was known at Altona, spread consternation amongst the emigrants. As to the German princes, who were awaiting the issue of events, either at Altona or Hamburg, when they learned that a definitive treaty of peace had been signed between France and Russia, and that, two days after the treaty of Tilsit, the Prussian monarchy was placed at the mercy of Napoleon, every courier that arrived threw them into indescribable agitation. It depended on the emperor's will whether they were to be, or not to be. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin had not succeeded in getting himself re-established in his states, by an exceptional decision, like the Duke of Weimar; but at length he obtained the restitution of his territory, at the request of the Emperor Alexander; and on the 28th of July he quitted Hamburg to return to his duchy.

The Danish chargé-d'affaires communicated to me, about the same time, an official report from his government. This report announced, that on Monday, the 3d of August, a squadron, consisting of twelve ships of the line, and twelve frigates, commanded by Admiral Gambier, had passed the Sound. The rest of the squadron was seen in the Categat. At the same time the English troops, which were in the island of Rugen, had re-embarked. We could not then conceive what enterprise this considerable force had been sent upon. But our uncertainty

MEETING OF NAPOLEON AND TOLSTOI IN PARIS, 1807.

was soon at an end. M. Didelot, the French ambassador at Copenhagen, arrived at Hamburg, at nine o'clock in the evening of the 12th of August. He had been fortunate enough to pass through the Great Belt, in sight of the English, without being stopped. I forwarded his report to Paris by an extraordinary courier.

The English had sent twenty thousand men, and twenty-seven vessels, into the Baltic; Lord Cathcart commanded the troops. The coast of Zealand was blockaded by ninety vessels. Mr. Jackson, who had been sent by England to negotiate with Denmark, which she feared would be invaded by the French troops, supported the propositions he was charged to offer to Denmark, by a reference to this powerful British force. Mr. Jackson's proposals had for their object nothing less than to induce the King of Denmark to place, in the custody of England, the whole of his ships and naval stores. They were, it is true, to be kept in deposit; but the condition contained the words "until the conclusion of a general peace," which rendered the period of their restoration uncertain. They were to be detained until the period when such precautions should be no longer necessary. A menace, and its execution, followed close upon this demand. After a noble, but useless resistance, and a terrific bombardment, Copenhagen surrendered, and the Danish fleet was destroyed. It would be difficult to find in history a more infamous and revolting instance of the abuse of power against weakness. Sometime after this event, a pamphlet, entitled "Germania," appeared, which I translated, and sent to the emperor. It was eloquently written, and expressed the indignation which the infamous conduct of England had excited in the author as in every one else.*

* "That expedition," said Napoleon at St. Helena, "showed great energy on the part of your ministers: but setting aside the violation of the laws of nations which you committed—for, in fact, it was nothing but a robbery—I think that it was injurious to your interests, as it made the Danish nation irreconcilable enemies to you, and, in fact, shut you out of the north for three years. When I heard of it, I said, I am glad of it, as it will embroil England irrecoverably with the northern powers. The Danes being able to join me with sixteen sail of the line was of but little consequence. I had plenty of ships, and only wanted seamen, whom you did not take, and whom I obtained afterwards: while by the expedition your ministers established their characters as faithless, and as persons with whom no engagements, no laws, were binding."—*Voice from St. Helena.* (*Editor.*)

This talk about the violation of the laws of nations from one who had set, and was actually setting all those laws at defiance, is absurdly impudent. We have not thought it a necessary part of our humble duty to set up a defence on all such points that occur in these memoirs, but the present charge, as reflecting on the national honour, is so serious, that we may be excused for saying a very few words upon it. The plain state of the case was this: the King of Denmark had a fleet of which Bonaparte stood in great need, and which, from the position of affairs, must fall into his hands, if not secured by the English. It was utterly impossible for the King of Denmark, who soon became a mere satrap of Napoleon's, to keep his ships out of that conqueror's clutches. We

I have stated what were the principal consequences of the treaty of Tilsit; it is more than probable, that if the bombardment of Copenhagen had preceded the treaty, the emperor would have used Prussia even worse than he did. He might have erased her from the list of nations; but he did not do so, out of regard to the Emperor Alexander. The destruction of Prussia was no new project with Bonaparte. I remember an observation of his to M. Lemercier upon that subject, when we first went to reside at Malmaison. M. Lemercier had been reading to the first consul some poem in which Frederick the Great was spoken of: "You seem to admire him greatly," said Bonaparte to M. Lemercier: "what do you find in him so astonishing? He is not equal to Turenne."—"General," replied M. Lemercier, "it is not merely the warrior that I esteem in Frederick; it is impossible to refrain from admiring a man who was a philosopher even on the throne." To this the first consul replied, in a half ill-humoured tone. "Certainly, Lemercier; but Frederick's philosophy shall not prevent me from erasing his kingdom from the map of Europe." The kingdom of Frederick the Great was not, however, obliterated from the map, because the Emperor of Russia would not basely abandon a faithful ally, who had incurred with him the chances of fortune. Prussia then bitterly had to lament the tergiversations which had prevented her from declaring herself against France during the campaign of Austerlitz.

Napoleon returned to Paris about the end of July, after an absence of ten months, the longest he had yet made since he had been at the head of the French government, whether as consul or emperor. The interview at Tilsit, the emperor Alexander's friendship, which was spoken of every where in terms of exaggeration, and the peace established on the continent, conferred on Napoleon a moral influence in public opinion, which he had not possessed since his coronation. Constant in his hatred of deliberative assemblies, which he had often termed collections of babblers, ideologists, and phrasemongers, Napoleon, on his return to Paris, suppressed the tribunate, which had been

demanded then, for our own safety, that he should surrender his vessels of war to us, not in property as prizes, but merely in pledge, and in order that their guns should not be turned against us. He refused, and then we took them, and brought them to England, but did not destroy them as stated by M. Bourrienne. It was a harsh measure, as regarded the Danes, but self-defence justified it. Let us take a familiar case: A man knows that in the house immediately adjoining his own, there is deposited a quantity of gunpowder sufficient to endanger his property or his life; he is perfectly well aware of his next-door neighbour's pacific and friendly intentions, but he also knows that his neighbour's next-door neighbour has a deadly spite against him, and being much stronger than the proprietor of the house where the powder is, that he will seize it to do him a mischief. What does he?—what ought a man to do under such circumstances, but hasten and be the first to seize the powder, and remove it from a point so dangerous to himself? This is neither more nor less than what we did with regard to the Danish fleet.—*Editor.*

an annoyance to him ever since the first day of his elevation. The emperor, who was skilful above all men in speculating on the favourable disposition of opinion, availed himself at this conjuncture of the enthusiasm produced by his interview on the Niemen. He therefore discarded from the fundamental institutions of the government, that which still retained the shadow of a popular character. But it was necessary that he should possess a senate merely to vote men; a mute legislative body to vote money: that there should be no opposition in the one, and no criticism in the other; no control over him of any description. The power of arbitrarily doing whatever he pleased; an enslaved press;—this was what Napoleon wished, and this he obtained. But the month of March, 1814, resolved the question of absolute power.

In the midst of the singularly complicated situation of affairs in Europe, after the peace of Tilsit, it was not a little surprising to observe how the emperor's influence with the grand signior had diminished. After he had succeeded so well in arming Turkey against Russia, he failed in his attempt to restore the good understanding he had interrupted. Every endeavour for this purpose, during the ephemeral reign of Mustapha-Bairactar, was useless. Guilleminot could not appease the storm which Sebastiani had conjured up, and the Turks determined to continue in a state of war with Russia. The emperor had promised Alexander to use his utmost exertions to restore peace. To prove his sincerity, he gave Guilleminot orders to that effect, but all in vain. Mustapha proved inflexible. The war continued, and soon became more complicated, when the emperor's evil star led him to take part in the fatal affairs of Spain. Distant as I was from the scene, I obtained some curious information, which I will relate with confidence, having no reason to doubt the purity of the source whence I obtained it.

In the midst of these great affairs, and while Napoleon was dreaming of universal monarchy, I beheld, in a less extensive sphere, the inevitable consequences of the ambition of a single man. Pillage and robbery were carried on in all parts over which my diplomatic jurisdiction extended. Rapine seemed to be legally authorized, and was perpetrated with such fury, and at the same time with such ignorance, that the agents were frequently unacquainted with the value of the articles which they seized. Thus, for example, the emperor ordered the seizure, at Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, of all English merchandise, whatever might be its nature or origin. The Prince of Neufchatel* wrote to me from the emperor, that I must procure ten millions of francs from the Hanse Towns. M. Daru, the commissary-in-chief, whose business it was to collect this sort of levies, which Napoleon had learned to make in Egypt, wrote to

* Marshal Berthier.

urge me to obtain a prompt and favourable decision. The unfortunate towns which I was thus enjoined to oppress, had already suffered sufficiently. I had obtained, by means of negotiation, more than was demanded for the ransom of the English merchandise, which had been seized according to order. Before I received the letters of M. Daru and the Prince of Neufchatel, I had obtained from Hamburg sixteen millions instead of ten, besides nearly three millions from Bremen and Lubeck. Thus I furnished the government with nine millions more than had been required, and yet I had so managed, that those enormous sacrifices were not over oppressive to those who made them. I fixed the value of the English merchandise, because I knew that the high price at which it sold on the continent would not only cover the proposed ransom, but also leave a considerable profit. Such was the singular effect of the continental system.

Peace being concluded with Russia, it was necessary to make choice of an ambassador, not only to maintain the new relations of amity between Napoleon and Alexander, but likewise to urge on the promised intervention of Russia with England; to bring about reconciliation and peace between the cabinets of Paris and London. The emperor confided this mission to Caulaincourt, with respect to whom there existed an unfounded prejudice relating to some circumstances which preceded the death of the Duke d'Enghien. This unfortunate and unjust impression had preceded Caulaincourt to St. Petersburg, and it was feared that he would not experience the reception due to the French ambassador, and to his own personal qualities. I knew at the time, from positive information, that after a short explanation with Alexander, that monarch retained no suspicion unfavourable to our ambassador, for whom he conceived and maintained great esteem and friendship.

Caulaincourt's mission was not, in all respects, easy of fulfilment, for the invincible repugnance and reiterated refusal of England to enter into negotiations with France, through the medium of Russia, was one of the remarkable circumstances of the period of which I am speaking. I knew positively that England was determined never to allow Napoleon to possess himself of the whole of the continent, a project which he indicated too undisguisedly to admit of any doubt respecting it. For two years he had indeed advanced with rapid strides; but England was not discouraged. She was too well aware of the irritation of the sovereigns, and the discontent of the people, not to be certain, that when she desired it, her lever of gold would again raise up and arm the continent against the encroaching power of Napoleon. He, on his part, perceiving that all his attempts were fruitless, and that England would listen to no proposals, devised fresh plans for raising up new enemies against England.

It probably is not forgotten, that in 1801 France compelled Portugal to make common cause with her against England. In

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID, IN THE POSSESSION OF M. EUDOXE MARCILLE. ENGRAVED BY T. JOHNSON

JEAN-ANDOCHE JUNOT, DUC D'ABRANTÈS.

1807 the emperor did again what the first consul had done. By an inexplicable fatality, Junot obtained the command of the troops which were marching against Portugal. I say against Portugal, for that was the fact, though France represented herself as a protector to deliver Portugal from the influence of England. Be that as it may, the choice which the emperor made of a commander astonished every body. Was Junot, a compound of vanity and mediocrity, the fit man to be intrusted with the command of an army in a distant country, and under circumstances in which great political and military talents were requisite? For my own part, knowing Junot's incapacity, I must acknowledge that his appointment astonished me. I remember, one day, when I was speaking on the subject to Bernadotte, he showed me a letter he had received from Paris, in which it was said, that the emperor had sent Junot to Portugal only for the sake of depriving him of the government of Paris. Junot annoyed Napoleon by his bad conduct, his folly, and his incredible extravagance. He was alike devoid of dignity—either in feeling or conduct. Thus Portugal was twice the place of exile selected by consular and imperial caprice: first, when the first consul wished to get rid of the familiarity of Lannes; and next, when the emperor grew weary of the misconduct of a favourite.

The invasion of Portugal presented no difficulty. It was an armed promenade, and not a war; but how many events were connected with the occupation of that country! The Prince Regent of Portugal, unwilling to act dishonourably to England, to which he was allied by treaties, and unable to oppose the whole power of Napoleon, embarked for Brazil, declaring that all defence was useless. At the same time he recommended his subjects to receive the French troops in a friendly manner, and said, that he consigned to Providence the consequences of an invasion which was without a motive. He was answered in the emperor's name, that Portugal being the ally of England, we were only carrying on hostilities against the latter country by invading his dominions.* But whilst our eagles were advancing on Lisbon, England captured the island of Heligoland. Much more importance has been attributed to that event than it really deserved. The garrison, which was brought to Gluckstadt, consisted only of thirty invalids. The only circumstance which conferred any importance on the little island of Heligoland, was its situation at the mouths of the Elbe and the Eyder. It furnishes pilots for ships sailing into either of those rivers.

The conduct of England with respect to Denmark and the bombardment of Copenhagen, excited general indignation even amongst persons who were not favourable to Napoleon's cause, *which Denmark sincerely joined.* The Prince Royal of Denmark,

* When Bonaparte used this argument what did he think of his severe strictures on our proceedings in Denmark?—*Editor.*

wishing to be revenged for the violence committed upon his capital, regarded as his enemies all who made common cause with England, and ordered M. Hue to be arrested.

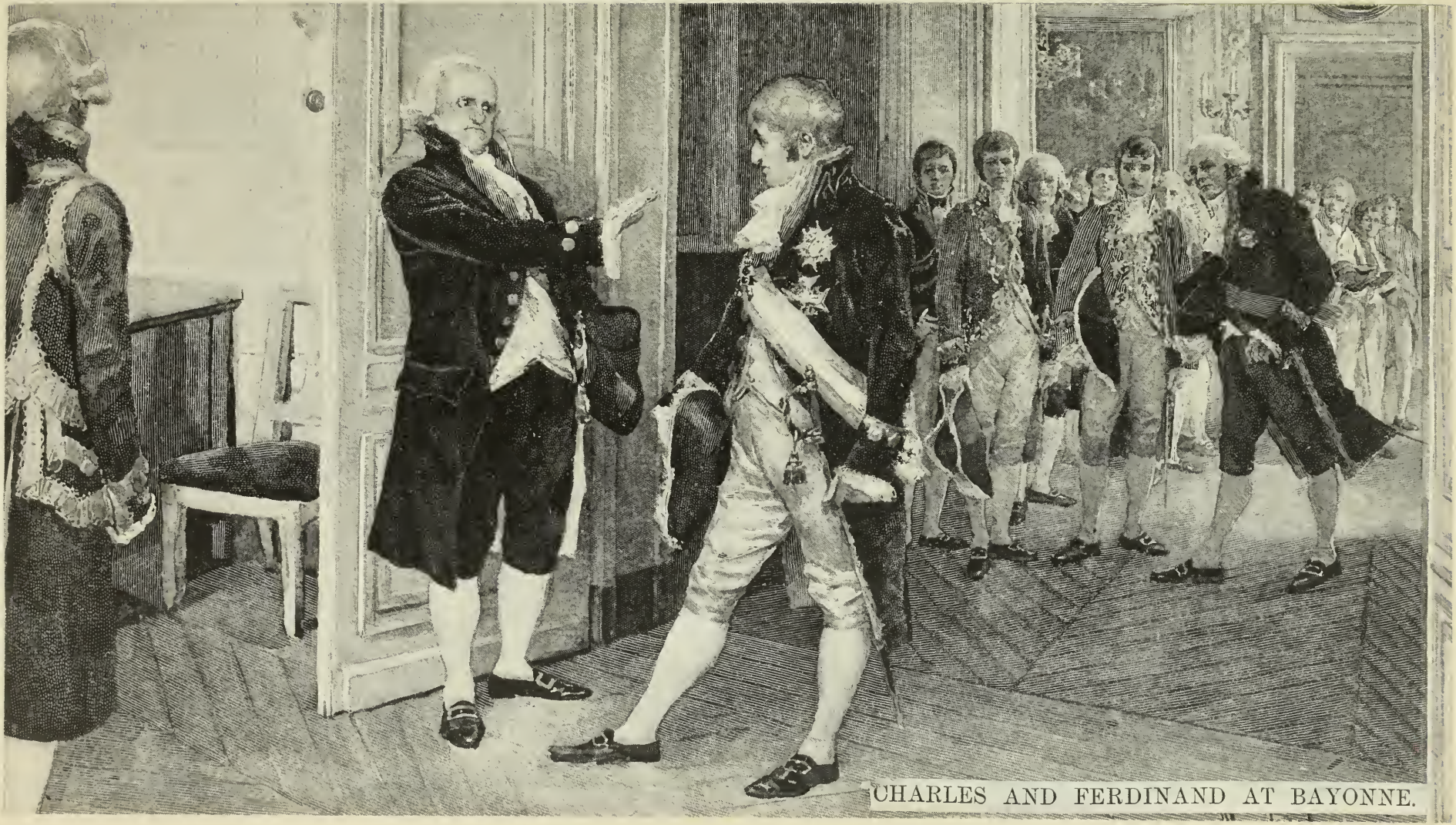
It was in the month of November, that the code of French jurisprudence, upon which the most learned legislators had indefatigably laboured, was established, as the law of the state under the title of the Code Napoleon. Doubtless this legislative monument will redound to Napoleon's honour in history;* but was it to be supposed that the same laws would be equally applicable throughout so vast an extent as that comprised within the French empire? Impossible as this was, as soon as the Code Napoleon was promulgated, I received orders to establish it in the Hanse Towns. The long and frequent conversations I had on this subject with the senators, and the most able lawyers of the country, soon convinced me of the immense difficulty I should have to encounter, and the danger of suddenly altering habits and customs which had been firmly established by time.

The jury system gave tolerable satisfaction; but the severe punishments assigned to certain offences by the code were disapproved of. Hence resulted the frequent and serious abuse of men being acquitted, whose guilt was evident to the jury, who pronounced them not guilty, rather than condemn them to a punishment which was thought too severe. Besides, their leniency had another ground, which was, that the people being ignorant of the new laws, were not aware of the penalties attached to particular offences. I remember that a man who was accused of stealing a cloak at Hamburg, justified himself on the ground that he committed the offence in a fit of intoxication. M. Von Einingen, one of the jury, insisted that the prisoner was not guilty, because, as he said, the syndic Doormann, when dining with him one day, having drunk more wine than usual, took away *his* cloak. This defence *per Baccho* was completely successful. An argument founded on the similarity between the conduct of the syndic and the accused, could not but triumph; otherwise the little debauch of the former would have been condemned in the person of the latter. This trial, which terminated so whimsically, nevertheless proves, that the best and the gravest institutions may become the objects of ridicule when suddenly introduced into a country whose habits are not prepared to receive them.

The Romans very wisely reserved in the Capitol a place for the gods of the nations they conquered. They wished to annex provinces and kingdoms to their empire. Napoleon, on the contrary, wished to make his empire encroach upon other states, and to realize the impossible Utopia of ten different nations, all

* Bonaparte was as proud of his Code as of his victories. He was accustomed to say, "I shall go down to posterity with the Code in my hand."—*Editor.*

THE FRENCH ARMY, UNDER JUNOT, IN THE MOUNTAINS OF PORTUGAL.



CHARLES AND FERDINAND AT BAYONNE.

having different customs and languages, united into a single state. Could justice, that safeguard of human rights, be duly administered in the Hanse Towns, when those towns were converted into French departments? In these new departments many judges had been appointed who did not understand a word of German, and who had no knowledge of law. The presidents of the tribunals of Lubeck, Stade, Bremerlehe, and Minden, were so utterly ignorant of the German language, that it was necessary to explain to them all the pleadings in the council-chamber. Was it not absurd to establish such a judicial system, and above all, to appoint such men in a country so important to France, as Hamburg and the Hanse Towns? Add to this the impertinence of some favourites who were sent from Paris to serve official and legal apprenticeships in the conquered provinces, and it may be easily conceived what was the attachment of the people to Napoleon the Great.

CHAPTER V.

1807—1808.

Disturbed state of Spain—Godoy, Prince of the Peace—Reciprocal accusations between the King of Spain and his son—False promise of Napoleon—Dissatisfaction occasioned by the presence of the French troops—Abdication of Charles IV.—The Prince of the Peace made prisoner—Murat at Madrid—Important news transmitted by a commercial letter—Murat's ambition—His protection of Godoy—Charles IV. denies his voluntary abdication—The crown of Spain destined for Joseph—General disapprobation of Napoleon's conduct.

The disorders of Spain, which commenced about the close of the year 1807, soon assumed a most complicated aspect. Though far from the theatre of events, I obtained an intimate knowledge of all the important facts connected with the extraordinary transactions of the Peninsula. However, as this point of history is one of the most generally, though I cannot say the best, known, I shall cancel in my notes and memoranda many things which would be but repetitions to the reading portion of the public. It is a remarkable fact that Bonaparte, who, by turns, cast his eyes on all the states of Europe, never directed his attention to Spain as long as his greatness was confined to mere projects. Whenever he spoke of his future destiny, he alluded to Italy, Germany, the East, and the destruction of the English power; but never to Spain. Consequently, when he heard of the first symptoms of disorder in the Peninsula, he paid but little attention to the business, and some time elapsed before he took any part in events which, subsequently, had so great an influence on his fate.

Godoy reigned in Spain under the name of the imbecile Charles IV.* He was an object of execration to all who were not his creatures; and even those whose fate depended upon him, viewed him with the most profound contempt. The hatred of a people is almost always the just reward of favourites. What sentiments, therefore, must have been inspired by a man who, to the knowledge of all Spain, owed the favour of the king only to the favours of the queen. Godoy's ascendancy over the royal family was boundless; his power was absolute: the treasures of America were at his command, and he made the most infamous use of them. In short, he had made the court of Madrid one of those places to which the indignant muse of Juvenal conducts the mother of Britannicus. There is no doubt that Godoy was one of the principal causes of all the misfortunes which have overwhelmed Spain under so many various forms.

The hatred of the Spaniards against the Prince of the Peace was general. This hatred was shared by the Prince of the Asturias, who openly declared himself the enemy of Godoy. The latter allied himself with France, from which he hoped to obtain powerful protection against his enemies. This alliance gave rise to great dissatisfaction in Spain, and caused France to be regarded with an unfavourable eye. The Prince of the Asturias† was encouraged and supported by the complaints of the Spaniards, who wished to see the overthrow of Godoy's power.

Charles IV., on his part, regarded all opposition to the Prince of the Peace as directed against himself, and in November, 1807, he accused his son of wishing to dethrone him.‡

* Manuel Godoy, originally a private in the guards, became the paramour of Charles the Fourth's queen; then a grandee; and then the supreme manager of the state.—*Editor.*

† The late king, Ferdinand VI.

‡ This accusation is said to have been conveyed to Napoleon in the following letter, addressed to him by Charles IV.—*Editor.*

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,

"At the moment when I was occupied with the means of co-operating for the destruction of our common enemy, when I believed that all the plots of the late Queen of Naples had been buried with her daughter, I perceive, with a horror that makes me tremble, that the most dreadful spirit of intrigue has penetrated even into the heart of my palace. Alas! my heart bleeds at reciting so dreadful an outrage. My eldest son, the presumptive heir to my throne, entered into a horrible plot to dethrone me; he even went to the extreme of attempting the life of his mother. So dreadful a crime ought to be punished with the most exemplary rigour of the laws. *The law which calls him to the succession ought to be revoked; one of his brothers will be more worthy to occupy his place, both in my heart and on the throne.* I am at this moment in search of his accomplices, in order to sift thoroughly this plan of most atrocious wickedness; and I would not lose a moment in informing your imperial and royal majesty of it, and to beseech you to assist me with your knowledge and counsel.

"For which I pray, &c.

"CHARLES.

"San Lorenzo, November 29, 1807."

AWN BY MAURICE ORANGE.

GODOY TAKEN INTO CUSTODY BY THE SPANISH TROOPS.

DRAWN BY MAURICE ORANGE.

THE BURNING OF A PALACE OF GODOY BY THE POPULACE AT MADRID.

The French ambassador in Spain, M. de Beauharnais, a relation of Josephine's first husband, was a very circumspect man. His situation at Madrid was extremely delicate and difficult. Without being gifted with any superior abilities, M. de Beauharnais possessed a certain tact which enabled him to see into things, and it was he who first informed the government of the misunderstanding which existed between the King of Spain and the Prince of the Asturias. He could not, indeed, avoid informing his court of all he observed. Could he conceal from the emperor that in the excess of his irritation against his son, Charles IV. had openly manifested a wish to revoke the law which called the Prince of the Asturias to the succession of one of the thrones of Charles V.? The King of Spain did not confine himself to verbal complaints. He, or rather the Prince of the Peace, acting in his name, arrested the warmest partisans of the Prince of the Asturias. The latter, understanding the sentiments of his father, wrote to Napoleon, soliciting his support. Thus the father and son, at open war, were appealing one against another, for the support of him who wished only to get rid of them both, and to put one of his brothers in their place, that he might have one junior more in the college of European kings: but, as I have already mentioned, this new ambition was not premeditated; and if he gave the throne of Spain to his brother Joseph, it was only on the refusal of his brother Louis (King of Holland) to accept it.

The emperor had promised to support Charles IV. against his son; and not wishing to take part in these family quarrels, he had not answered the first letters of the Prince of the Asturias. But finding that the intrigues of Madrid were taking a serious turn, he commenced provisionally by sending troops to Spain.* This gave offence to the people, who were averse to the interference of France. In the provinces through which the French troops passed, it was asked what was the object of the invasion. Some attributed it to the Prince of the Peace, others to the Prince of the Asturias; but it excited general indignation, and troubles broke out at Madrid, accompanied by all the violence peculiar to the Spanish character.

In these fearful circumstances, Godoy proposed that Charles IV. should remove to Seville, where he would be the better en-

* French troops had appeared in Spain some months before, on their way to Portugal, the conquest of which country by Junot was to be aided by Godoy and a Spanish force of 27,000, according to a treaty (more disgraceful to the court of Spain than to Bonaparte) which had been ratified at Fontainebleau on the 29th of October, 1807. Charles IV. was little better than an idiot, and Godoy and the French made him believe that Bonaparte would give part, or the whole of Portugal, to Spain. At the time of Junot's march on Lisbon, a reserve of 40,000 French troops were assembled at Bayonne—a pretty clear indication, though the factious, infatuated court of Madrid would not see it, that Bonaparte intended to seize the whole of the peninsula.—*Editor.*

abled to visit the factious with punishment. A proposition from Godoy to his master was, in fact, a command, and Charles IV. accordingly resolved to depart. The people now looked upon Godoy as a traitor. An insurrection broke out, the palace was surrounded, and the Prince of the Peace was on the point of being massacred in an upper apartment, where he had taken refuge. One of the mob had the presence of mind to invoke in his favour the name of the Prince of the Asturias: this saved his life.*

Charles IV. did not preserve his crown; he was easily intimidated, and advantage was taken of a moment of alarm to demand that abdication, which he had not spirit to refuse. He surrendered up his rights to his son, and thus was overthrown the insolent power of the Prince of the Peace: the favourite was made prisoner, and the Spaniards, who, like all ignorant people, are easily excited, manifested their joy on the occasion with barbarous enthusiasm. Meanwhile the unfortunate king, who had escaped from imaginary rather than real dangers, and who was at first content with having exchanged the right of reigning for the right of living, no sooner found himself in safety, than he changed his mind. He wrote to the emperor, protesting against his abdication, and appealed to him as the arbiter of his future fate.

During these internal dissensions, the French army was continuing its march towards the Pyrenees. Those barriers were

* "The Prince of the Peace himself pretended to be alarmed, and perhaps was really so, when he saw the advance of our troops, of whom part had arrived at Burgos, and part entered Barcelona. He declared that the royal family had no alternative but to retire to Seville, and call the Spanish nation to arms.' It was said to have been arranged that he should act this part to induce the king and the royal family to depart for Seville; and that he was to escape from them clandestinely at Seville, to go and enjoy the advantages ensured to him by the treaty of Fontainebleau. Such is the story I have heard; but I saw nothing that warranted me in believing it, at least as to the design entertained by the Prince of the Peace taking possession of the territories he had secured to himself in Portugal. Far from this, the prince knew the decree of Milan, by which Junot was made governor of Portugal, and authorized to exercise his functions in the name of the emperor. The principality of the Algarves was now no longer talked of, and no doubt the prince had ceased to flatter himself with any thought of that dominion. He assembled the king's council at the palace of Aranjuez, and, after describing the misfortunes which threatened the monarchy, he succeeded in prevailing on the council to adopt his advice, and decree the removal of the royal family to Seville. On quitting this council, the Prince of the Asturias said to the guards, as he passed through the hall in which they were stationed, 'The Prince of the Peace is a traitor: he wishes to send away my father. Prevent his departure.'

"This observation of the Prince of the Asturias was rapidly reported through town. The populace repaired to the palace of the Prince of the Peace, ransacked it, and, after vigilant search, found the prince concealed in a garret. He would undoubtedly have fallen a victim to the fury of the mob, had not some of his attendants saved him by carrying him off to prison, pretending that they did so by order of the Prince of the Asturias."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (*Editor.*)

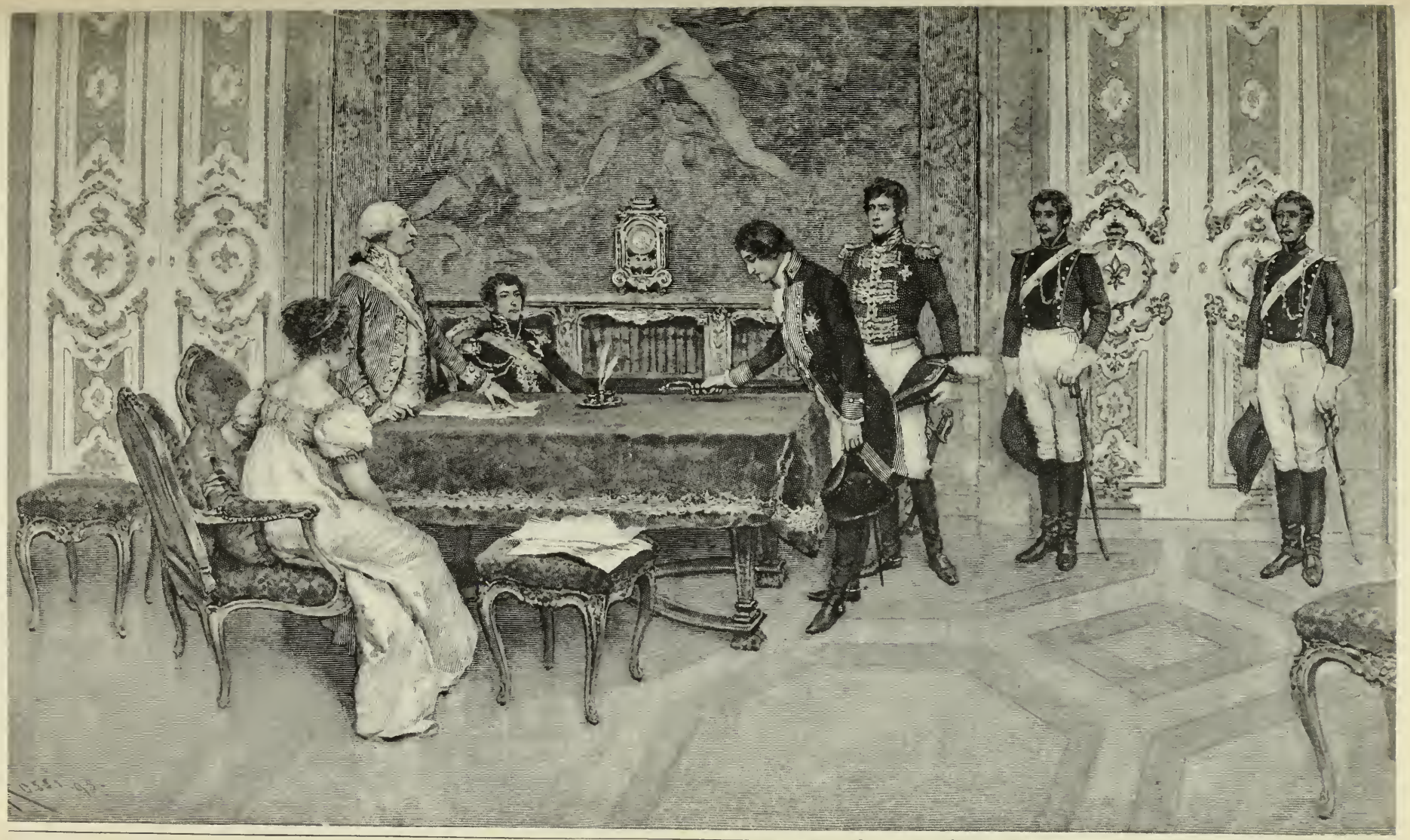
Hor Vernet p.

COMBAT DE SOMO SIERRA

PASSAGE OF SOMO SIERRA.

On the 29th of November, 1808, the French head-quarters were at the village of Bocequilas. They found the pass of Somo Sierra, forming part of the chain of mountains named *Carpetanos*, and which traverses the main road to Castile, taken possession of by the enemy. The Spaniards could not have chosen a stronger position—"the defile was narrow, and excessively steep; and the road completely swept by sixteen pieces of artillery." At day-break, on the 1st of December, the French endeavoured to turn the flanks of St. Juan. Whilst the infantry were vainly attempting to ascend the heights in every direction, sustaining a double fire from the artillery and the Spanish musquetry, Napoleon came up, attended by his Polish lancers. The emperor stood in the entrance of the pass, and attentively examined the enemy's position. While thus occupied, the Spanish fire was redoubled in intensity—numerous bullets falling around the emperor, or passing over his head. Sensible of the disadvantages under which his troops laboured, he decided on taking a most bold and daring course: he ordered his own squadron of Polish lancers to charge right up the pass, in face of the battery. This brave troop, conducted by Kozietulski, threw itself into columns of four and four, the way not admitting more at once. The columns were driven back by the violent fire from the battery, and of the Spanish marksmen; but Count Krasinski, and Colonel Dautancourt, who followed him at the head of the other squadrons of the regiment, rallied them by their presence, and they precipitated themselves anew into the pass. Ascending the mountain at a gallop, notwithstanding a shower of shot, and a most frightful cross-fire of musquetry, they overthrew every obstacle, and at length carried the apparently inaccessible position of the enemy. The Spanish infantry threw down their arms, abandoned their entrenchments, and fled. The Poles speared the gunners, and took possession of the cannon, and Spaniards continued their flight in such disorder, that they were at last fain to quit the road to Madrid, and escape in the direction, some of Segovia, others of Talaveyra.

This brilliant charge is considered by the French to be the most astonishing and most daring feat which cavalry ever achieved, and won so much glory for the regiment which performed it, that it has ever since been associated with the *élite* of the old French soldiery.



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THE ARREST OF FERDINAND.

speedily crossed, and Murat entered Madrid in the beginning of April, 1808. Before I received any despatch from our government, I learned that Murat's presence in Madrid, far from producing a good effect, had only increased the disorder. I obtained this information from a merchant of Lubeck, who came to Hamburg on purpose to show me a letter he had received from his correspondent in Madrid. In this letter Spain was said to be a prey which Murat wished to appropriate to himself; and all that afterwards came to my knowledge, served only to prove the accuracy of the writer's information. It was perfectly true that Murat wished to conquer Spain for himself, and it is not astonishing that the inhabitants of Madrid should have understood his designs, for he carried his indiscretion so far, as openly to express his wish to become King of Spain. The emperor was informed of this, and gave him to understand, in very significant terms, that the throne of Spain was not destined for him, but that he should not be forgotten in the disposal of other crowns.

However, Napoleon's remonstrances were not sufficient to restrain the imprudence of Murat; and if he did not gain the crown of Spain for himself, he powerfully contributed to make Charles IV. lose it. That monarch, whom old habits attached to the Prince of the Peace, solicited the emperor to liberate his favourite, alleging that he and his family would be content to live in any place of security, provided Godoy were with them. The unfortunate Charles seemed to be thoroughly disgusted with greatness.

Both the king and queen so earnestly implored Godoy's liberation, that Murat, whose vanity was flattered by these royal solicitations, took the Prince of the Peace under his protection; but he, at the same time, declared, that in spite of the abdication of Charles IV., he would acknowledge none but that prince as King of Spain, until he should receive contrary orders from the emperor. This declaration placed Murat in formal opposition to the Spanish people, who, through their hatred of Godoy, embraced the cause of the heir of the throne, in whose favour Charles IV. had abdicated.

It has been remarked, that Napoleon stood in a perplexing situation in this conflict between the king and his son. This is not correct. King Charles, though he afterwards said that his abdication had been forced from him by violence and threats, had, nevertheless, tendered it. By this act Ferdinand was king; but Charles declared it was done against his will, and he retracted. The emperor's recognition was wanting, and he could give or withhold it, as he pleased.

In this state of things, Napoleon arrived at Bayonne. Thither Ferdinand was also invited to go, under pretence of arranging with the emperor the differences between his father and himself. It was some time before he could form his determination, but

at length his ill-advised friends prevailed on him to set off, and he was caught in the snare. What happened to him, as well as to his father, who repaired to Bayonne, with his inseparable friend, the Prince of the Peace, is well known. Napoleon, who had undertaken to be arbiter between the father and son, thought the best way of settling the difference was to give the disputed throne to his brother Joseph, thus verifying the fable of the "Two Lawyers and the Oyster." The insurrection in Madrid on the 2d of May, accelerated the fate of Ferdinand, who was accused of being the author of it; at least this suspicion fell on his friends and adherents.

Charles IV., it was said, would not return to Spain, and solicited an asylum in France. He signed a renunciation of his rights to the crown of Spain, which renunciation was also signed by the infantas.

The Prince Royal of Sweden, who was at Hamburg at this time, and the ministers of all the European powers, loudly condemned the conduct of Napoleon with respect to Spain. I cannot say whether or not M. Talleyrand advised the emperor not to attempt the overthrow of a branch of the house of Bourbon: his good sense and elevated views might certainly have suggested that advice. But the general opinion was, that had he retained the portfolio of foreign affairs, the Spanish revolution would have terminated with more decorum and good faith, than was exhibited in the tragi-comedy acted at Madrid and Bayonne.

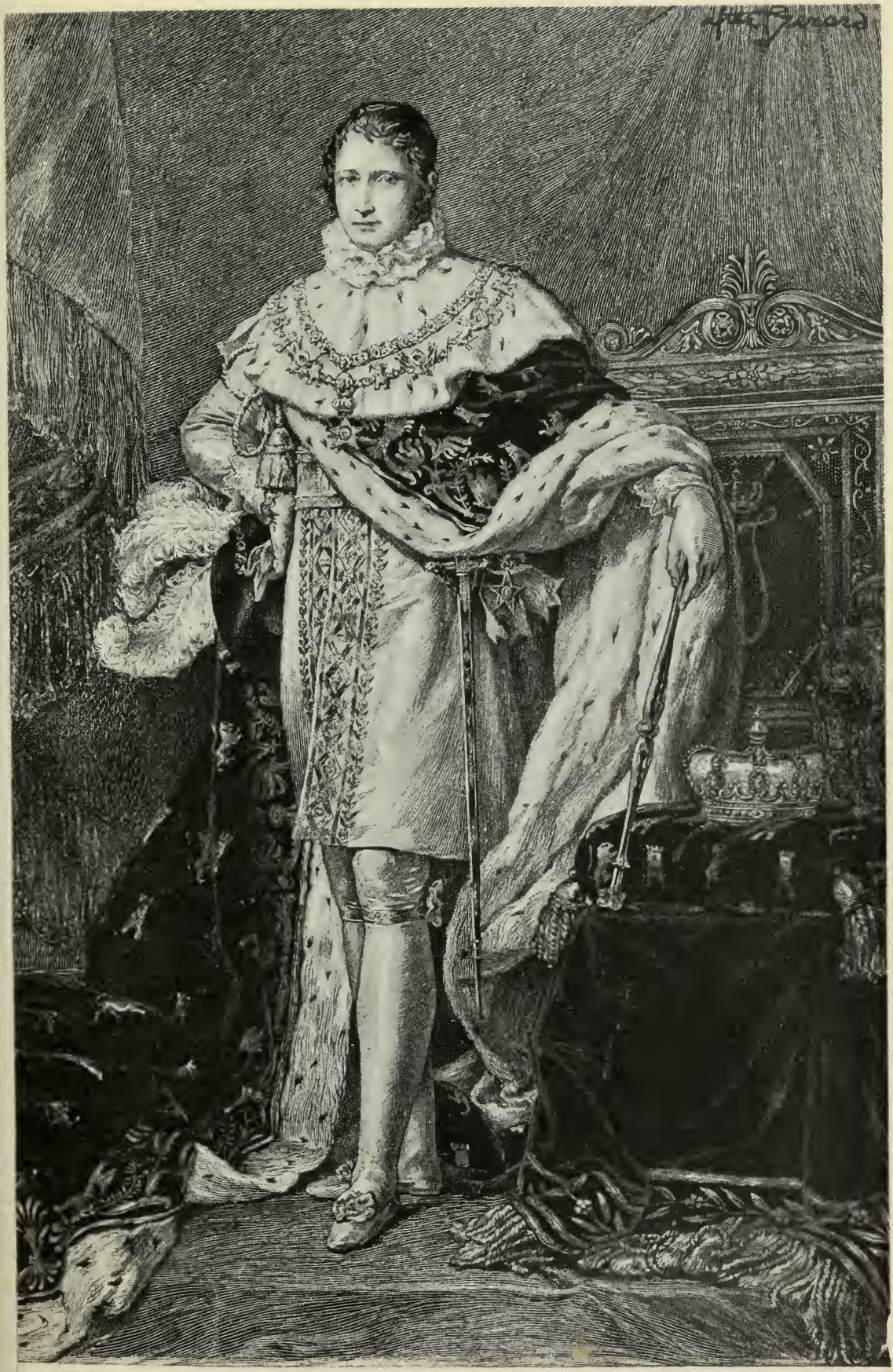
NOTES ON THE TREACHEROUS SEIZURE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF SPAIN.

The following condensed English account of these astounding transactions may be useful to some readers:

"We now come to another and most important transaction of Napoleon's reign, the invasion of Spain. Spain was the humble and submissive ally of Napoleon; her navy, her army, her treasures were at his disposal. She was at war with Great Britain; she had allowed a free passage to the French troops through her territory to Portugal. Other French divisions had entered Spain as friends in the beginning of 1808, and seized by stratagem the fortresses of St. Sebastian, Pamplona, and Barcelona. At the same time the internal administration of Spain was carried on in a most corrupt and profligate manner. Charles IV., his queen, and the favourite Godoy, had completely disgusted the Spaniards. An insurrectional movement took place at Aranjuez, 20th of March, and Ferdinand, the heir to the crown, who was a favourite with the people, was proclaimed

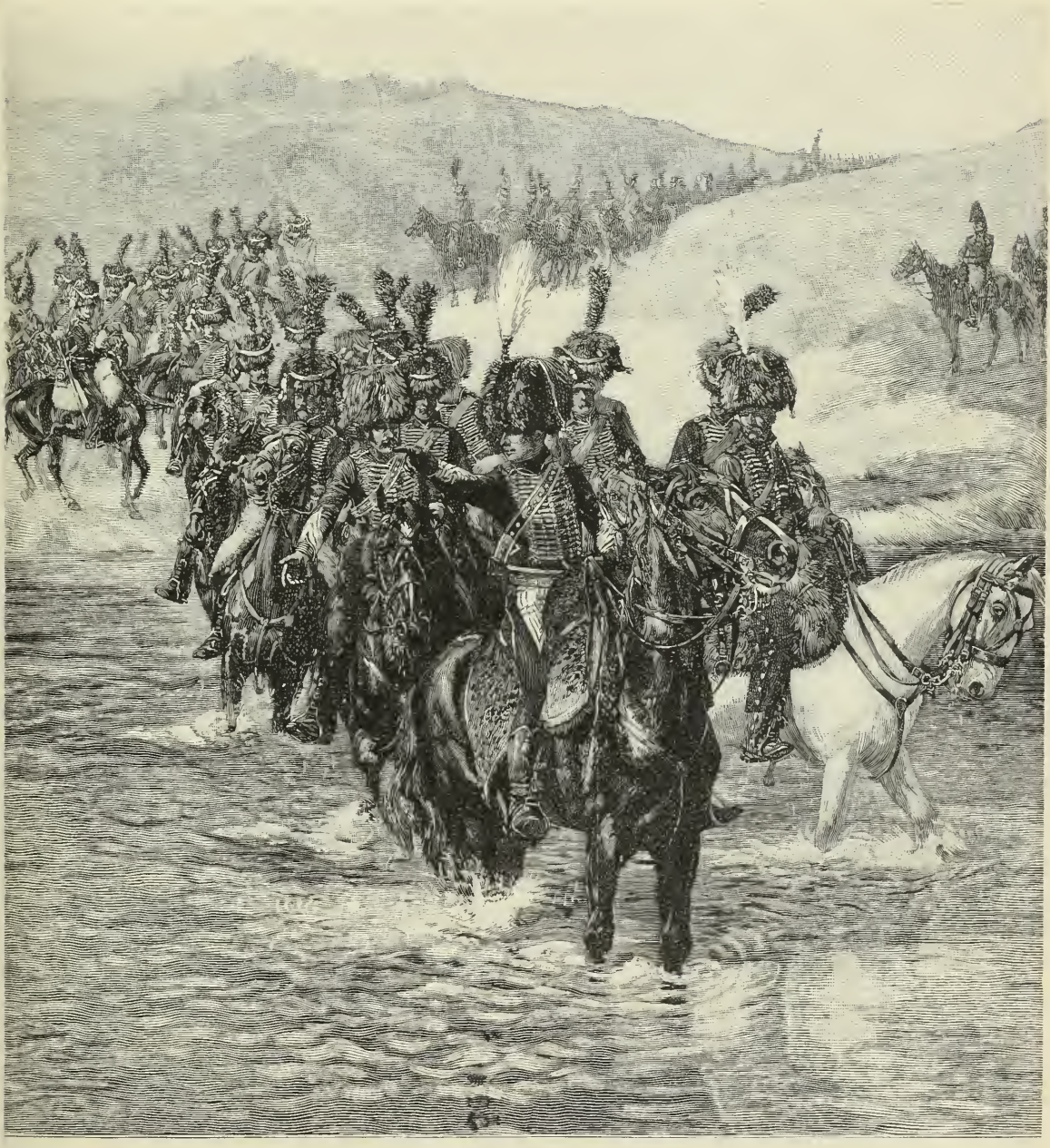
1 BY LUCIUS ROSSI.

ENTRY OF FERDINAND INTO MADRID.



AFTER THE PORTRAIT BY FRANÇOIS GÉRARD, IN THE HÔTEL DE VILLE, AJACCIO.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE, KING OF SPAIN.



HARTIER. PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED.

FRENCH SOLDIERS IN SPAIN: THE PASSAGE OF THE FORD.

king, and Charles was induced to abdicate. Napoleon founded upon this a pretence for interfering. He invited father, mother, son, and favourite to Bayonne, where he himself repaired in April. Charles and his queen went readily; Ferdinand hesitated; but Napoleon sent Savary, who with many asseverations of his master's honourable and friendly intentions towards him, gradually decoyed the weak prince from stage to stage until he was fairly out of the Spanish territory. A scene of duplicity and dishonesty, of indecent and unnatural recriminations now took place between Napoleon, the old king, the queen, and her son, which for moral turpitude has no parallel in history.—*Don Pedro Cevallos, and the Canon Escoiquiz's accounts.* Charles resumed his character of king, stigmatized Ferdinand as a rebellious son; the queen joined in reviling and disgracing him at the expense of her own and her husband's honour,* and Ferdinand, overwhelmed by insults and threats, renounced his claim to the crown of Spain on the 6th of May. (Concerning the real sentiments of Ferdinand expressed in his intercepted letters, see Bausset, *Mémoires anecdotiques sur l'Intérieur du Palais.*) Charles likewise resigned all his rights 'in favour of his friend and ally the emperor of the French.' Napoleon now issued a decree, appointing 'his dearly-beloved brother Joseph Napoleon, king of Naples and Sicily, to the crowns of Spain and the Indies.' By a subsequent decree, 15th of July, he appointed 'his dearly-beloved cousin, Joachim Murat, grand Duke of Berg, to the throne of Naples and Sicily, which remained vacant by the accession of Joseph Napoleon to the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies.' Both these curious documents are signed Napoleon, and countersigned by the ministers secretary of state, Maret."—*Memoir of Bonaparte. P. C.*

* This shameless royal virago told Ferdinand in the presence of Napoleon and of her husband Charles IV., that the king was not his father—that he was *her* son by an adulterous intercourse.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER VI.

1808.

The Bourbon cause apparently lost—Louis XVIII. after his departure from France—The Count de Provence at Coblentz—He seeks refuge in Turin and Verona—Death of Louis XVII.—Louis XVIII. refused an asylum in Austria, Saxony, and Prussia—His residence at Mittau and Warsaw—Alexander and Louis XVIII.—The king's departure from Milan and arrival at Yarmouth—Determination of the King of England—M. Lemercier's prophecy to Bonaparte—Fouché's inquiries respecting Count Rechteren—Note from Josephine—New demands on the Hanse Towns—Order to raise three thousand sailors in Hamburg—Departure of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo—Prediction and superstition—Stoppage of letters addressed to the Spanish troops—La Romana and Romanillos.

After the treaty of Tilsit, and the bonds of friendship, which seemed likely to produce a permanent union between the emperors of France and Russia, the cause of the Bourbons must have been considered irretrievably lost. Indeed, their only hope consisted in the imprudence and folly of him who had usurped their throne, and that hope they cherished. I will here relate what I had the opportunity of learning respecting the conduct of Louis XVIII., after his departure from France: this will naturally bring me to the end of November 1807, at which time I read in the "Abeille du Nord," published on the 9th of the same month, that the Count de Lille and the Duke d'Angoulême had set off for England.

The Count de Provence, as Louis's title then went, left Paris on the 21st of June, 1791. He constantly expressed his wish of keeping as near as possible to the frontiers of France. He at first took up his abode at Coblentz, and I knew from good authority that all the emigrants did not regard him with a favourable eye. They could not pardon the wise principles he had professed at a period when there was yet time to prevent, by reasonable concession, the misfortunes which imprudent irritation brought upon France. When the emigrants, after the campaign of 1792, passed the Rhine, the Count de Provence resided in the little town of Ham on the Lippe, where he remained until he was persuaded that the people of Toulon had

called him to Provence. As he could not, of course, pass through France, Monsieur repaired to the court of his father-in-law, the King of Sardinia, hoping to embark at Genoa, and from thence to reach the coast of Provence. But the evacuation of Toulon, where the name of Bonaparte was for the first time sounded by the breath of fame, having taken place before he was able to leave Turin, Monsieur remained there four months, at the expiration of which time his father-in-law intimated to him the impossibility of his remaining longer in the Sardinian states. He was afterwards permitted to reside at Verona, where he heard of Louis XVII.'s death. After remaining two years in that city, the senate of Venice forbade his presence in the Venetian states. Thus forced to quit Italy, the count repaired to the army of Condé.

The heartless policy of the Austrian cabinet afforded no asylum to the Count de Provence; and he was obliged to pass through Germany; yet, as Louis XVIII. repeated over and over again, even since the restoration, "He never intended to shed French blood in Germany, for the sake of serving foreign interests." Monsieur had, indeed, too much penetration not to see that his cause was a mere pretext for the powers at war with France. They felt but little for the misfortunes of the prince, and merely wished to veil their ambition and their hatred of France, under the false pretence of zeal for the house of Bourbon.

When the dauphin died, Louis XVIII. took the title of King of France, and went to Prussia, where he obtained an asylum. But the pretender to the crown of France had not yet drained his cup of misfortune. After the 18th Fructidor, the Directory required the King of Prussia to send away Louis XVIII., and the cabinet of Berlin, it must be granted, was not in a situation to oppose the desire of the French government, whose wishes were commands. In vain Louis XVIII. sought an asylum in the King of Saxony's states. There only remained Russia that durst offer a last refuge to the descendant of Louis XIV. Paul I., who was always in extremes, and who at that time entertained a violent feeling of hatred towards France, earnestly offered Louis XVIII. a residence at Mittau. He treated him with the honours of a sovereign, and loaded him with marks of attention and respect. Three years had scarcely passed, when Paul was seized with mad enthusiasm for the man who, twelve years later, ravaged his ancient capital, and Louis XVIII. found himself expelled from that prince's territory, with a harshness equal to the kindness with which he had, at first, been received.

It was during his three years' residence at Mittau, that Louis XVIII, who was then known by the title of Count de Lille, wrote to the first consul those letters which have been inserted in these memoirs. Prussia, being again solicited, at length consented that Louis XVIII. should reside at Warsaw; but on

the accession of Napoleon to the empire, the prince quitted that residence, in order to consult respecting his new situation with the only sovereign who had not deserted him in his misfortune, viz., the King of Sweden. They met at Colmar, and from that city was dated the protest which I have already noticed. Louis XVIII. did not stay long in the states of the King of Sweden. Russia was now on the point of joining her eagles with those of Austria, to oppose the new eagles of imperial France. Alexander offered to the Count de Lille the asylum which Paul had granted to him, and afterwards withdrawn. Louis XVIII. accepted the offer; but after the peace of Tilsit, fearing lest Alexander might imitate the second act of his father, as well as the first, he plainly saw that he must give up all intention of residing on the continent; and it was then that I read in the "Abeille du Nord" the article before alluded to. There is, however, one fact, upon which I must insist, because I know it to be true, viz., that it was of his own free will that Louis XVIII. quitted Mittau; and if he was afraid that Alexander would imitate his father's conduct, that fear was without foundation. The truth is, that Alexander was ignorant even of the king's intention to go away, until he heard from Baron Driesen, governor of Mittau, that he had actually departed. Having now stated the truth on this point, I have to correct another error, if indeed it be only an error, into which some writers have fallen. It has been falsely alleged, that the king left Mittau for the purpose of fomenting fresh troubles in France. The friends of Louis XVIII., who advised him to leave Mittau, had great hopes from the last war. They cherished still greater hopes from the new wars which Bonaparte's ambition could not fail to excite; but they were not so ill-informed respecting the internal condition of France, as to expect that disturbances would arise there, or even to believe in the possibility of fomenting them. *The pear was not yet ripe* for Louis XVIII.

On the 29th of November, the contents of a letter, which had arrived from London by way of Sweden were communicated to me. This letter was dated the 3d of November, and contained some particulars respecting the Count de Lille's arrival in England. That prince had arrived at Yarmouth on the 31st of October; and it was stated that the king was obliged to wait some time in the port, until certain difficulties, respecting his landing, and the continuance of his journey, should be removed. It moreover appeared from this letter, that the King of England thought proper to refuse the Count de Lille permission to go to London, or its neighbourhood. The palace of Holyrood, in Edinburgh, was assigned as his place of residence; and Mr. Ross, secretary to Mr. Canning, conveyed the determination of the King of England to Louis XVIII. at Yarmouth.

The precaution of the English ministry in not permitting the refugee king to go near London, appeared to me remarkable,

considering the relative position of the governments of France and England, and I regarded it as a corroboration of what the Prince of Wittgenstein had told me respecting Mr. Canning's inclination for an amicable arrangement. But the moment was approaching, when the affairs of Spain were to raise an invincible obstacle to peace; to complicate more than ever the interests of the powers of Europe, and open to Napoleon that vast career of ambition which proved his ruin. He did not long allow the hopes of the emigrants to remain chimerical, and the year 1814 witnessed the realization of the prophetic remark made by M. Lemercier, in a conversation with Bonaparte, a few days before the foundation of the empire: "If you make up the bed of the Bourbons, general, you will not lie in it ten years." Napoleon lay in it nine years and nine months.

Fouché, the grand investigator of the secrets of Europe, did not fail, on the first report of the agitations in Spain, to address to me question on question respecting the Count Rechteren, the Spanish minister at Hamburg, who, however, had left that city, with the permission of his court, four months after I had entered on my functions. This was going back very far to seek information respecting the affairs of the day. At the very moment when I transmitted a reply to Fouché which was not calculated to please him, because it afforded no ground for suspicion as to the personal conduct of M. Rechteren, I received from the amiable Josephine a new mark of her remembrance. She sent me the following note:

"M. Milon, who is now in Hamburg, wishes me, my dear Bourrienne, to request that you will use your interest in his favour. I feel the more pleasure in making this request, as it affords me an opportunity of renewing the assurance of my regard for you."

Josephine's letter was dated from Fontainebleau, whither the emperor used to make journeys in imitation of the old court of France. During these excursions he sometimes partook of the pleasures of the chase; but merely for the sake of reviving an old custom, for in that exercise he found as little amusement as Montaigne did in the game of chess. At Fontainebleau, as every where else, his mind was engaged with the means of augmenting his greatness; but, unfortunately, the exactions he imposed on distant countries were calculated to alienate the affections of the people. Thus, for example, I received an order emanating from him, and transmitted to me by M. Daru, the commissary-in-chief of the army, that the pay of all the French troops stationed in the Hanse Towns, should be defrayed by those towns. I lamented the necessity of making such a communication to the senates of Bremen, Lubeck, and Hamburg; but my duty compelled me to do so, and I had long been accustomed to fulfil duties even more painful than this. I tried every possible means with the three states, not collectively but separately, to induce

them to comply with the measure, in the hope that the assent of one would help me to obtain that of the two others. But, as if they had been all agreed, I only received evasive expressions of regret.

Knowing as I did, and I may say better than any one else, the hopes and designs of Bonaparte respecting the north of Germany, it was not without pain, nor even without alarm, that I saw him doing every thing calculated to convert into enemies the inhabitants of a country, which would always have remained quiet, had it only been permitted to preserve its neutrality. Among the orders I received were often many which could only have been the result of the profoundest ignorance. For example, I was one day directed to press three thousand seamen in the Hanse Towns. Three thousand seamen out of a population of two hundred thousand! What blockhead could have suggested such a project? It was as absurd as to think of raising 500,000 sailors in France. This project being impossible, it was, of course, not executed; but I had some difficulty in persuading the emperor that a sixth of the number demanded was the utmost the Hanse Towns could supply. Five hundred seamen were accordingly furnished, but to make up that number, it was necessary to include many men who were totally unfit for war service.

In the spring of 1808, a circumstance occurred which gave me much uneasiness; it was the departure of Bernadotte, prince of Ponte-Corvo, who received orders to repair to Copenhagen.* He left Hamburg on the 8th of March, as he was to reach his destination on the 14th of the same month. The Danish chargé-d'affaires also received orders to join the prince, and discharge the functions of king's commissary. It was during his government at Hamburg, and his stay in Jutland, that Bernadotte unconsciously paved his way to the throne of Sweden. I recollect that he had also his presages and his predestinations. In short, he believed in astrology, and I shall never forget the serious tone in which he one day said to me, "Would you believe, my dear friend, that it was predicted at Paris that I should be a king, but that I must cross the sea to reach my throne." I could not help smiling at this weakness of mind, from which Bonaparte was not far removed. It certainly was not any supernatural influence which elevated Bernadotte to sovereign rank. That elevation was solely due to his excellent character. He had no other talisman than the wisdom of his government, and the promptitude which he always showed to oppose unjust measures. This it was that united all opinions in his favour.

The bad state of the roads in the north prolonged Bernadotte's

* He was directed to take the command of the French troops whom the emperor sent into Denmark, after the bombardment of Copenhagen by the English. —*Bourrienne.* Whether the English had bombarded Copenhagen or not, Bernadotte would have been sent into Denmark, all the same, and, if we had not secured the fleet he would have seized it for his then master.—*Editor.*

journey one day. He set out on the 8th of March: he was expected to arrive at Copenhagen on the 14th, but did not reach there till the 15th. He arrived precisely two hours before the death of Christian, King of Denmark, an event with which he made me acquainted by a letter written two days after his arrival.

On the 6th of April following I received a second letter from Bernadotte, in which he desired me to order the grand ducal postmaster to keep back all letters addressed to the Spanish troops, who had been placed under his command, and of which the corps of Romana formed part. The postmaster was ordered to keep the letters until he received orders to forward them to their destinations. Bernadotte considered this step indispensable, to prevent the intrigues which he feared might be set on foot, in order to shake the fidelity of the Spaniards he commanded.* I saw from his despatch, that he feared the plotting of Romanillos,† who, however, was not a person to cause much apprehension. Romanillos was as commonplace a man as could well be conceived; and his speeches, as well as his writings, were too innocent to create any influence on public opinion.

CHAPTER VII.

1808.

Illegible notifications—Calumnious attack upon Baron Stein, Prince Wittgenstein, and myself—Baron Stein's love of liberty—His *Testament politique*—Accusation against Prince Wittgenstein—Surreptitious copy of a letter of the Countess Woss—Bernadotte's moderation—Indispensable measure—Gratitude of Prince Wittgenstein—Official note from the Prussian minister in Hamburg—Recent testimony of Prince Wittgenstein—Flattering letter from the King of Prussia.

In addition to the functions with which the emperor at first invested me, I had to discharge the duties of French consul-general at Hamburg, and in that character I was obliged to present to the minister for foreign affairs a very singular request, viz., that the judicial notifications, which as consul-general I had to make known to the people of Hamburg, might be written in a more legible hand. Many of these notifications had been

* It will be remembered that this Spanish corps of Romana, afterwards broke the French leash that held them, and found their way back to the peninsula, where they fought for the independence of their native country.—*Editor.*

† Romanillos was secretary of the Spanish legation at Hamburg, and chargé-d'affaires from the cabinet of Madrid, after the departure of M. Rechteren.

disregarded on account of the impossibility of reading them. With respect to one of them, it was declared that it was impossible to discover whether the writing was German, French, or Chinese.

This affair was easily managed; but in the course of 1808, a still more serious matter occurred, in which I took great interest, and which serves to show to what a depth of turpitude those people will descend who found their fortunes on calumny. I here allude to a plot which was formed against Prince Wittgenstein. In a passage in a late publication, under the title of "Souvenirs," &c.,* it is stated, that fabricated despatches, purporting to be from Baron Stein, had been sent to the prince, with the view of making it appear that the baron was engaged in a plot for exciting an insurrection in Westphalia. It is added, that the minister, Bourrienne, had compelled the prince to write a letter, complaining of the conduct of Baron Stein. I shall here give a precise statement of the facts. Baron Stein has been too little known. As minister of the King of Prussia, he distinguished himself among the other members of the cabinet of Berlin, who supported, with all their influence, the regeneration of the people, and the creation of that public spirit which is the life and safety of nations. He wished to diffuse in all minds that conservative principle which declares, that subjects and governments must be united by bonds of mutual interest! This

* The writer makes his charge in the following terms: "The rights of man and the law of nations were violated in an extraordinary way in December, 1808, in the person of Prince Wittgenstein, the Prussian minister at Hamburg, and as this affair led to M. Stein's proscription by Bonaparte, it will not be out of place to notice it here. Prince Wittgenstein was in the habit of receiving despatches from M. Stein, the Prussian minister, who was at Koningsberg with the king; and Bonaparte was curious to know the contents of these despatches. For this purpose, having caused one of the couriers to be arrested and detained, he examined his despatches, and afterwards forwarded them to Prince Wittgenstein, at Hamburg. The despatches contained severe reflections on Bonaparte's conduct in Spain and Westphalia. He afterwards sent several forged letters, in which the handwriting of M. Stein had been imitated, to the prince, calling upon him to transmit a plan for revolutionizing Westphalia. Prince Wittgenstein, not knowing what to think of these letters, wrote to Count Goltz, and to the minister of the King of Prussia at Koningsberg, respecting the extraordinary communications he had received from M. Stein. The French agents intercepted these letters, and, fearful lest the truth might be discovered, recourse was had to new experiments.

"Prince Wittgenstein was arrested at Hamburg, and lodged in the house of Bonaparte's minister, Bourrienne. He was there compelled to write to Count Goltz respecting the conduct of M. Stein, who was stated to be endeavouring to revolutionize Westphalia, and other things equally false. These letters were sent directly to the Moniteur, and were inserted in that paper on the 7th of December, 1808. Bonaparte, notwithstanding all his cunning, could not keep his own secret. It is evident from the letters themselves, that Prince Wittgenstein was forced to write them, for he certainly did not send them to the Moniteur. As for Count Goltz, he never received them, the originals having been sent to Paris, where they remained. It was subsequently to this scandalous affair that M. Stein was outlawed."

was enough to make Bonaparte hate Baron Stein. He who could not endure in France those patriotic sentiments which, nevertheless, had opened to him the way to the throne, would not, of course, tolerate them among a people with whom he was at war; especially when he saw that a national effervescence, manifested in Prussia, might oppose a barrier to his ambition. Bonaparte attributed to Baron Stein, and to his system, the murmurs of patriotism which were at first heard faintly in the states of Frederick William, and which afterwards burst out so loudly. The animosity which Bonaparte from that moment conceived towards Baron Stein, was a proof of his shrewdness. He clearly saw into the future; and there can be little doubt, that to this first impulse given to the public mind in Prussia, must be attributed the generous feeling that was manifested when General York separated from the French troops, without waiting for the King of Prussia's consent.

In November, Baron Stein published at Koningsberg, where he then resided, a circular letter to the principal officers of the kingdom of Prussia. This document was known by the name of Baron Stein's Political Testament. This is all I know respecting Baron Stein, and, consequently, all I can say of him; but I could not allow such a calumny as had been broached to pass unnoticed.

Now, for the truth:—The Countess Woss, first lady of the court of the Queen of Prussia, wrote to her friend Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein at Hamburg, a certain letter without date of time or place. This letter, it is said, reached Hamburg on the 16th of November. Prince Wittgenstein was at Hamburg, not as a minister, but merely as a private resident. Baron Grote was then minister from Prussia to the Hanse Towns. About the time when the letter of the Countess Woss reached Hamburg, Marshal Bernadotte received one from M. Daru, dated the 14th of November, containing a copy of Madame de Woss's letter, which had been opened in the Berlin cabinet.* This copy was translated from German into French; and, in transmitting it, M. Daru desired Bernadotte to arrest Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein. From some terms used in the *translated* copy of Madame Woss's letter, it was pretended that the prince was at the head of a conspiracy, the object of which was to revolutionize Westphalia, and afterwards to assassinate the emperor.

Bernadotte immediately called on me to communicate this incomprehensible despatch. As soon as I saw it, I suspected some odious machination, and I observed to the marshal, that having resided with the prince, and knowing him well, I considered him incapable of entering into the designs attributed to him. I added, that he had often spoken to me of the Countess

* The reader must remember that the Berlin cabinet was then *French*.—*Editor*.

Woss as being a most respectable lady, and I advised him not to arrest the prince, or, at least, to delay that disagreeable measure. "Let us go and call on him," said I; "he will not expect us, and we shall see what effect our visit will produce on him; at all events, we will require him to give his word of honour not to quit Hamburg before the affair be settled." Bernadotte, who was always disposed to act kindly, complied with my request. It was ten o'clock at night when we went to call on Prince Wittgenstein, and Bernadotte had received the letter only two hours before. We found the prince in dishabille, quietly taking his tea. Supposing we had come to make him a friendly visit, he made many excuses for the way in which we found him, observing, that it was our own fault for coming so late. He behaved in his usual polite and easy way, so that we could not imagine he had any idea of the business we had come upon. The marshal tried every delicate way of giving him to understand the nature of our visit, but at last we were obliged to tell it plainly. His first idea was that we were joking; but when he saw that we were serious, and when Bernadotte presented to him the translated copy of the letter of the Countess Woss, his surprise and indignation were beyond all expression. Bernadotte required him to give his word that he would not leave Hamburg without permission, which the prince willingly did, declaring that he had not received the original of the letter communicated to us.

Next day, the 17th of November, Prince Wittgenstein called on me at an early hour. I was too well acquainted with his excellent character to require any assurance of his being neither a revolutionist nor a murderer. He seemed much agitated by what had occurred. I said all I could to allay his apprehensions, and advised him to apply for the original letter of the Countess Woss.

In spite of friendship and conviction, the orders we had received made it impossible that we could dispense with examining the prince's papers. I looked them over myself, assisted by General Gerard, and we found nothing upon which the slightest suspicion could be founded. Bernadotte, urged by my solicitations, and personally convinced of the innocence of the prince, persisted in his determination of not arresting him. However, to secure himself against any reproach, he wrote, on the 19th, a letter to the emperor, who was then in Spain, in which he stated what had passed, adding, that he had not thought it necessary to arrest Prince Wittgenstein, but that he had taken measures for securing him should it be necessary, and that he awaited further orders.

I still strongly urged Prince Wittgenstein to demand that the original letter of the Countess Woss should be shown to him. On the 21st of November, Count Daru wrote to inform him, that the original letter had been sent to the King of Prussia at

Koningsberg. On the other hand, Davoust asserted, that the original had actually been sent to Prince Wittgenstein, but that he had destroyed it, and that he now denied the projected conspiracy and poisoning. On the 22d of November, Count Woss, the nephew of the countess, had a conversation at Berlin with Count Daru, who had assured me that the letter had merely been copied, and then forwarded by the post, and that it must be delivered according to its address. But Count Woss had informed the prince, that on the 20th he had been promised to have a sight of the letter on the 23d.

These incomprehensible contradictions proved that the original letter was still in existence, and that some one had an interest in preventing it being compared with the translated copy. But the prince, conscious of his own innocence, and well assured that the Countess Woss could not have written any thing to commit him, insisted that the sense of the original letter must have been perverted in the translation.

On the 26th of November I received a letter on the subject from Baron Grote, the King of Prussia's minister, who was sent from Hamburg when M. Daru's despatch arrived. In his note the baron protested against the calumnious imputation cast on Prince Wittgenstein and the Countess Woss, and claimed my interference to cause the proceedings against the prince to be withdrawn.

In spite of the reiterated requests of Prince Wittgenstein, the original letter was not produced. At length, the day after that on which I received M. Grote's note, and thirteen days after the receipt of the translated copy of Countess Woss's letter, the prince wrote me the following note in German, the autograph of which I have preserved:

Enclosed, my dear friend, you will receive the original letter of the Countess Woss, together with one addressed to the prince,* and another to the minister Woss. If any thing else is necessary I will come immediately to you.

If I have failed in calling on you to-day, you must regard that only as a proof of the value I attach to your friendship.† Those men alone who know how to make allowance for the weakness of their fellow-creatures can inspire me with the high esteem I cherish for you. The idea of losing your friendship, and of being suspected of having been guilty of indiscretion and ingratitude, has bewildered me, and thrown me into a state of feeling I cannot describe.

Ever gratefully yours,
WITTGENSTEIN.

Hamburg, 27th of November, 1808.

* The Prince of Ponte-Corvo, *i. e.* Bernadotte.

† It had been agreed that Prince Wittgenstein should call on me every day to prove his presence in Hamburg; but the pleasure I derived from seeing him was the only reason for my attaching any importance to this condition. I was too well convinced of the integrity of his character to allow his absence ever to cause me the least uneasiness.

P.S.—I have not kept a copy of Count Woss's letter. If the prince wishes for his long letter which I read to you yesterday evening, he shall have a copy of it to-morrow.

Prince Wittgenstein's state of mind was not improved by the reception of the original letter of the Countess Woss. Two days after, on the 29th of November, he wrote to me the following billet:

I have just risen after having slept nine hours. I have now forgotten all my troubles, which before had almost driven me to despair. On awaking, my first prayer was, that God would bless you and your family, and procure me an opportunity of proving to you that I am not unworthy of your friendship.

The original letter of the Countess Woss, the translated copy which had been sent from Berlin, another translation which I made, and a third made by an aide-de-camp of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo (I believe M. Gentil de Saint Alphonse), were all forwarded to the emperor. He easily perceived the difference between the translations, and saw no just ground for the accusation which had been brought against Prince Wittgenstein.

After this statement of facts, supported by uncontradictable proofs, what is to be thought of the attack upon me contained in the publication from which I have given an extract? When that publication came to my knowledge I was already engaged in writing these Memoirs, though I had no idea of the time at which I might publish them. I had already in my possession all the documents to which I have just referred, and which are certainly more than sufficient to refute the unfounded attack. However, with the view of throwing all possible light on this affair, I wrote to Prince Wittgenstein, who was then, and still is, a minister of the Prussian cabinet. And on the 29th of June, 1828, I received from him an answer, in which, among other things, he said—

"If you intend to publish any thing relative to your functions at Hamburg, you can, with justice, state, that you did not induce me to write a letter to Baron Stein of the nature of that mentioned by the author of a publication, entitled, 'Nos Souvenirs, ou les Péchés de Napoléon.' On the contrary, I retain a grateful sense of all the kindness I experienced from you during that difficult period, and I am ready to make this declaration to whomsoever may doubt my sentiments towards you."

I will now lay before the reader a letter from the King of Prussia, which was transmitted to me through the medium of Prince Wittgenstein, previously to the miserable contrivance to which the latter had wellnigh fallen a victim. I insert the letter in this place, because the date to which it refers brings me precisely to that point at which I shall resume the thread of my narrative in the next chapter. I have in my possession the autograph copy of this letter, and without affecting any false

modesty, I will candidly confess that I am proud to take this opportunity of publishing it:

MONSIEUR DE BOURRIENNE,

I am informed of the equitable dispositions and obliging interest which you have manifested for my states and for my subjects, whenever circumstances have given you the opportunity of so doing. I feel great pleasure in thus directly returning you my thanks, and I beg that you will continue to manifest the same sentiments on occasions, which will, no doubt, frequently recur. Be convinced that I shall retain a grateful recollection of your conduct, and that I shall have great satisfaction in proving, by all means in my power, that I render you full justice. I pray God, &c.

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Koningsberg, March 18, 1808.

CHAPTER VIII.

1808.

Eagerness of the German princes to join the confederation of the Rhine—Attack upon me on account of Mr. Hue—Bernadotte's successor in Hamburg—Exactions and tyrannical conduct of General Dupas—Disturbance in Hamburg—Plates broken in a fit of rage—My letter to Bernadotte—His reply—Bernadotte's return to Hamburg, and departure of Dupas for Lubeck—Noble conduct of the aide-de-camp Barral—Promulgation of the Code of Commerce—Conquests by senatus consulta—Three events in one day—Recollections—Application of a line of Voltaire—Creation of the imperial nobility—Restoration of the university—Aggrandizement of the kingdom of Italy, at the expense of Rome—Cardinal Caprara's departure from Paris—The interview at Erfurt.

I SHALL not trace a picture of all the acts of turpitude committed by second-rate ambitious aspirants, who hoped to come in for their share in the division of the continent. The emperor's lieutenants regarded Europe as a twelfthcake, but* none of them ventured to dispute the best bit with Napoleon. Long would be the litany, were I to enregister all the fraud and

* This passage scarcely admits of a literal translation which would be unintelligible to many readers. The point, though trifling, is curious. Bourrienne says,

"The emperor's lieutenants regarded Europe as a twelfthcake *(un gâteau des rois)*, but none of them ventured to dispute *the bean* (*la fève*) with Napoleon. In French twelfthcakes there is a bean concealed in the midst, and in the division of the cake the person to whose lot the bean falls, is proclaimed king for the night. This stands in lieu of our custom of *drawing* for king and queen.—*Editor.*

treachery which they committed, either to augment their fortunes or to win the favour of the chief, who wished to have kings for his subjects. The fact is, that all the princes of Germany displayed the greatest eagerness to range themselves under the protection of Napoleon, by joining the Confederation of the Rhine. I received from those princes several letters, which served to prove at once the influence of Napoleon in Germany, and the facility with which men bend beneath the yoke of a new power. I must say, that among the emigrants who remained faithful to their cause, there were some who evinced more firmness of character than the foreign princes. I may mention, for example, M. Hue, the valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI. I do not intend to deny the high regard I entertained for that faithful servant of the martyred king: but the attentions which I congratulate myself on having shown to an excellent man, should not have subjected me to false imputations.

I have read the following statement in a publication: "M. Hue retired to Hamburg, where he passed nine months in perfect obscurity. He afterwards went to Holland, provided with a passport from Bourrienne, who was Napoleon's minister, though in disgrace, and who, foreseeing what was to happen, sought to ingratiate himself in the favour of the Bourbons."

The above passage contains a falsehood in almost every line. M. Hue wished to reside in Hamburg, but he did not wish to conceal himself. I cheerfully permitted him to remain there, in spite of contrary and very strict orders, which I had received, and with which I made M. Hue acquainted. I invited him to visit me, and assured him that he might remain in Hamburg without apprehension, provided he acted prudently. He wished to go to Holland, and I took upon myself to give him a passport. I left M. Hue in the free management of his business, the nature of which I knew very well, and which was very honourable; he was deputed to pay the pensions which Louis XVIII. granted to the emigrants. As for myself, I had tendered my resignation of private secretary to Bonaparte: and even admitting I was in disgrace in that character, I was not so as minister and consul-general at Hamburg. My situation, which was of little consequence at the time I was appointed to it, was rendered exceedingly important by later circumstances. It was, in fact, a sort of watch-tower of the government, whence all the movements of northern Germany were observed: and during my residence in the Hanse Towns, I continually experienced the truth of what Bonaparte said to me at my farewell audience:—"Yours is a place independent and apart."

It is absurd to say that the kindness I showed to M. Hue was an attempt to ingratiate myself with the Bourbons. My attentions to him were dictated solely by humanity, unaccom-

panied by any afterthought. Napoleon had given me his confidence, and by mitigating the severity of his orders, I served him better than they who executed them in a way which could not fail to render the French government odious. If I am accused of extending every possible indulgence to the unfortunate emigrants, I plead guilty; and, far from wishing to defend myself against the charge, I consider it honourable to me. But I defy any one of them to say that I betrayed in their favour the interests with which I was intrusted. They who urged Bonaparte to usurp the crown of France, served, though perhaps unconsciously, the cause of the Bourbons. I, on the contrary, used all my endeavours to dissuade him from that measure, which I clearly saw must, in the end, lead to the restoration, though I do not pretend that I was sufficiently clearsighted to guess that Napoleon's fall was so near at hand. The kindness I showed to M. Hue and his companions in misfortune, was prompted by humanity, and not by mean speculation. As well might it be said that Bernadotte, who, like myself, neglected no opportunity of softening the rigour of the orders he was deputed to execute, was, by this means, working his way to the throne of Sweden.

Bernadotte had proceeded to Denmark, to take the command of the Spanish and French troops who had been removed from the Hanse Towns to occupy that kingdom, which was then threatened by the English. His departure was a great loss to me, for we had always agreed respecting the measures to be adopted, and I felt his absence the more sensibly when I was enabled to make a comparison between him and his successor. It is painful to me to detail the misconduct of those who injured the French name in Germany, but, in fulfilment of the task I have undertaken, I am bound to tell the truth.

In April, 1808, General Dupas came to take the command of Hamburg; but only under the orders of Bernadotte, who retained the supreme command of the French troops in the Hanse Towns. By the appointment of General Dupas, the emperor cruelly thwarted the wishes and hopes of the inhabitants of Lower Saxony. That general said of the people of Hamburg, "As long as I see those .... driving in their carriages, I can have money from them." It is, however, only just to add, that his dreadful exactions were not made on his own account, but for the benefit of another man to whom he owed his all, and to whom he had in some measure devoted his existence. It was for *that* man he became the blood-sucker of the Hanse Towns.

I will state some particulars respecting the way in which the generals who commanded the French troops at Hamburg were maintained. The senate of Hamburg granted to the marshals thirty friederichs per day for the expenses of their table exclusive of the hotel in which they were lodged by the city. The generals of division had only twenty friederichs. General

Dupas wished to be provided for on the same footing as the marshals. The senate having, with reason, rejected this demand, Dupas required that he should be daily served with a breakfast and a dinner of thirty covers. This was an inconceivable burden, and Dupas cost the city more than any of his predecessors.

I saw an account of his expenses, which, during the twenty-one weeks he remained at Hamburg, amounted to 122,000 marks, or about 183,000 francs. None but the most exquisite wines were drunk at the table of Dupas. Even his servants were treated with champagne, and the choicest fruits were brought from the fine hothouses of Berlin. The inhabitants were irritated at this extravagance, and Dupas accordingly experienced the resistance of the senate. Among other vexations there was one to which the people could not readily submit. In Hamburg, which had formerly been a fortified town, the custom was preserved of closing the gates at nightfall. On Sundays they were closed three-quarters of an hour later, to avoid interrupting the amusements of the people. While General Dupas was governor of Hamburg, an event occurred which occasioned considerable irritation in the public mind, and might have been attended by fatal consequences. From some whim or other, the general ordered the gates to be closed at seven in the evening, and consequently while it was broad daylight, for it was in the middle of spring; no exception was made in favour of Sunday; and on that day a great number of the inhabitants, who had been walking in the outskirts of the city, presented themselves at the gate of Altona for admittance. To their surprise they found the gate closed, though it was a greater thoroughfare than any other gate in Hamburg. The number of persons requiring admittance increased, and a considerable crowd soon collected. After useless entreaties had been addressed to the chief officer of the post, the people were determined to send to the commandant for the keys. The commandant arrived, accompanied by the general. When they appeared, it was supposed they had come for the purpose of opening the gates, and they were accordingly saluted with a general *hurrah!* which throughout almost all the north is the usual cry for expressing popular satisfaction. General Dupas not understanding the meaning of this *hurrah!* supposed it to be a signal for sedition; and instead of ordering the gates to be opened, he commanded the military to fire upon the peaceful citizens, who only wanted to return to their homes. Several persons were killed, and others more or less seriously wounded. Fortunately, after this first discharge the fury of Dupas was appeased; but still he persisted in keeping the gates closed at night. Next day, an order was posted about the city, prohibiting the cry of *hurrah!* under pain of a severe punishment. It was also forbidden, that more than three persons should collect

together in the streets. Thus it was, that certain persons imposed the French yoke upon towns and provinces which were previously happy. Dupas was as much execrated in the Hanse Towns as Clarke had been in Berlin, when he was governor of that capital during the campaign of 1807. Clarke had burdened the people of Berlin with every kind of oppression and exaction. He, as well as many others, manifested a ready obedience in executing the imperial orders, however tyrannical they might be; and Heaven knows what epithets invariably accompanied the name of Clarke, when pronounced by the lips of a Prussian!

Dupas seemed to have taken Clarke as his model. An artillery officer, who was in Hamburg at the time of the disturbance I have just mentioned, told me that it was he who was directed to place two pieces of light artillery before the gate of Altona. Having executed this order, he went to General Dupas, whom he found in a furious fit of passion, breaking and destroying every thing within his reach. In the presence of the officer he broke more than two dozen plates which were on the table before him: these plates, of course, had cost him very little.

On the day after the disturbance which had so fatal a termination, I wrote to inform the Prince of Ponte-Corvo of what had taken place; and in my letter I solicited the suppression of an extraordinary tribunal which had been created by General Dupas. He returned me an immediate answer, complying with my request. His letter was as follows:

I have received your letter, my dear minister: it forcibly conveys the expression of your right feeling, which revolts against oppression, severity, and the abuse of power. I entirely concur in your view of the subject, and I am distressed whenever I see such acts of injustice committed. On an examination of the events which took place on the 9th, it is impossible to deny that the officer who ordered the gates to be closed so soon was in the wrong; and next, it may be asked, why were not the gates opened instead of the military being ordered to fire on the people? But, on the other hand, did not the people evince decided obstinacy and insubordination? Were they not to blame in throwing stones at the guard, forcing the palisades, and even refusing to listen to the voice of the magistrates? It is melancholy that they should have fallen into these excesses, from which, doubtless, they would have refrained, had they listened to the civil chiefs, who ought to be their first sentinels. Finally, my dear minister, the senator who distributed money at the gate of Altona to appease the multitude, would have done better had he advised them to wait patiently until the gates were opened; and he might, I think, have gone to the commandant or the general, to solicit that concession.

Whenever an irritated mob resorts to violence, there is no safety for any one. The protecting power must then exert its utmost authority to stop mischief. The senate of ancient Rome, so jealous of its prerogatives, assigned to a dictator, in times of trouble, the power of

life and death, and that magistrate knew no other code than his own will and the axe of his lictors. The ordinary laws did not resume their course until the people returned to submission.

The event which took place in Hamburg produced a feeling of agitation, of which evil-disposed persons might take advantage to stir up open insurrection. That feeling could only be repressed by a severe tribunal, which, however, is no longer necessary. General Dupas has, accordingly, received orders to dissolve it, and justice will resume her usual course.

J. Bernadotte.

Densel, May 4, 1808.

When Bernadotte returned to Hamburg he sent Dupas to Lubeck. That city, which was poorer than Hamburg, suffered cruelly from the visitation of such a guest. Dupas levied all his exactions in kind, and indignantly spurned every offer of accepting money, the very idea of which, he said, shocked his delicacy of feeling. But his demands became so extravagant, that the city of Lubeck was utterly unable to satisfy them. Besides his table, which was provided in the same style of profusion as at Hamburg, he required to be furnished with plate, linen, wood, and candles; in short, with the most trivial articles of household consumption.

The senate deputed to the incorruptible General Dupas M. Nolting, a venerable old man, who mildly represented to him the abuses which were every where committed in his name, and entreated that he would vouchsafe to accept twenty louis per day to defray the expenses of his table alone. At this proposition General Dupas flew into a rage. To offer him money was an insult not to be endured!—He furiously drove the terrified senator out of the house, and the next minute ordered his aide-de-camp Barral to imprison him. M. de Barral, startled at this extraordinary order, ventured to remonstrate with the general, but in vain; and, though against his heart, he was obliged to obey. The aide-de-camp accordingly waited upon the senator, Nolting, and, overcome by that feeling of respect which gray hairs involuntarily inspire in youth, instead of arresting him, he besought the old man not to leave his house until he should prevail on the general to retract his orders. It was not till the following day that M. de Barral succeeded in getting these orders revoked—that is to say, he obtained M. Nolting's release from prison; for Dupas would not be satisfied until he heard that the senator had suffered at least the commencement of the punishment to which his capricious fury had doomed him.

In spite of his parade of disinterestedness, General Dupas yielded so far as to accept the twenty louis a day for the expense of his table, which M. Nolting had offered him, on the part of the senate of Lubeck; but it was not without murmurings, complaints, and menaces, that he made this generous con-

cession; and he exclaimed more than once, "These *fellows* have portioned out my allowance for me."* Lubeck was not released from the presence of General Dupas until the month of March, 1809, when he was summoned to command a division in the emperor's new campaign against Austria. Strange as it may appear, it is, nevertheless, the fact, that oppressive as had been his presence at Lubeck, the Hanse Towns soon had reason to regret him.

The year 1808 was fertile in remarkable events. Occupied as I was with my own duties, I yet amused my leisure hours in observing the course of those great acts by which Bonaparte seemed determined to mark every day of his life. At the commencement of 1808, I received one of the first copies of the Code of Commerce, promulgated on the 1st of January by the emperor's order. This code appeared to me an act of derision; at least it was extraordinary to publish a code respecting a subject which it was the effect of all the imperial decrees to destroy. What trade could possibly exist under the continental system, and the ruinous severity of the customs? The line was already extended widely enough, when, by a senatus consultum, it was still further widened. The emperor, to whom all the continent submitted, had recourse to no other formality for the purpose of annexing to the empire the towns of Kehl, Cassel near Mentz, Wessel, and Flushing, with the territories depending on them. These conquests, gained by decrees and senatorial decisions, had at least the advantage of being effected without bloodshed. All these things were carefully communicated to me by the ministers, with whom I corresponded; for my situation at Hamburg had acquired such importance, that it was necessary I should know every thing.

At this period, I observed among the news which I received from different places, a singular coincidence of dates, worthy of being noted by the authors of Ephemerides. On the same day, namely, the 1st of February, Paris, Lisbon, and Rome, were the scenes of events of different kinds, but, as they all happened on one day, afford a striking example of the rapidity of movement which marked the reign of Bonaparte. At Paris, the niece of Josephine, Mademoiselle de Tascher,† whom Napoleon

* This is another of the many coarse passages that cannot be literally translated. Verily we may say, what manner of men were those capable of such language?—*Editor.*

† Mademoiselle d'Avrillion, when she first entered the service of Josephine, was placed about the person of Mademoiselle Tascher; and in her Memoirs she draws rather an interesting character of the young and handsome creole, who was singularly attached to her aunt, then only Madame Bonaparte, wife of the first consul. "Every body," says the sensible femme-de-chambre, "was satisfied with this marriage except the bride herself, whose taste was the first that ought to have been consulted. Mademoiselle de Tascher assented to the union

had lately exalted to the rank of princess, was married to the reigning Prince of Ahremberg, while, at the same time, Junot declared to Portugal that the house of Braganza had *ceased to reign*,* and French troops were, under the command of General Miollis, occupying Rome. This occupation was the commencement of prolonged struggles, during which Pius VII. expiated the condescension he had shown in going to Paris to crown Napoleon.

My correspondence, relative to what passed in the south of France and of Europe, presented to me, if I may so express myself, merely an anecdotal interest. Not so the news which came from the north. At Hamburg I was like the sentinel of an advanced post, always on the alert. I frequently informed the government of what would take place before the event actually happened; I was one of the first to hear of the plans of Russia relative to Sweden. The courier whom I sent to Paris arrived there at the very moment when Russia made the declaration of war. About the end of February, the Russian troops entered Swedish Finland, and occupied also the capital of that province, which had, at all times, been coveted by the Russian government. It has been said, that at the interview at Erfurth, Bonaparte consented to the usurpation of that province by Alexander, in return for the complaisance of the latter in acknowledging Joseph as King of Spain and the Indies.

The removal of Joseph from the throne of Naples to the throne of Madrid, belongs, indeed, to that period respecting which I am now throwing together a few recollections. Murat had succeeded Joseph at Naples, and that accession of the brother-in-law of Napoleon to one of the thrones of the house of Bourbon, gave Bonaparte another junior in the college of kings, of which he would have infallibly become the senior, if he had gone on as he began.

I will relate a little circumstance which now occurs to me respecting the kings manufactured by Napoleon. I recollect that during the King of Etruria's stay in Paris, the first consul went with that prince to the Comédie Française, where Voltaire's Œdipus was performed. This piece, I may observe, Bonaparte liked better than any thing Voltaire ever wrote. I was in the theatre, but not in the first consul's box, and I observed, as all present must have done, the eagerness with which the audience

with the greatest repugnance: she had a thorough antipathy for the Prince d'Ahremberg, and she never could overcome it, *but she never could have dared to resist the will and command of Napoleon.*" The marriage was a wretched one: it ended in a divorce, after which Madame d'Ahremberg married the Count de Guitry.—*Editor.*

* This was a pet expression of Bonaparte's. In the same way he said, in 1806, when he made his brother Joseph King of Naples, "the Bourbons of Naples have ceased to reign."—*Editor.*

THE CAPITULATION OF BAYLEN.

applied to Napoleon and the King of Etruria the line in which Philoctetes says—

J'ai fait des souverains et n'ai pas voulu l'être.*

The application was so marked, that it could not fail to become the subject of conversation between the first consul and me. "You remarked it, Bourrienne?" . . . . "Yes, general." . . . . "The fools! . . . . They shall see! They shall see!" . . . . —We did indeed see; not content with making kings, Bonaparte, when his brow was encircled by a double crown, after creating princes, at length realized the object he had long contemplated; namely, to found a new nobility, endowed with hereditary rights. It was at the commencement of March, 1808, that he accomplished this project: and I saw in the Moniteur a long list of princes, dukes, counts, barons, and knights, of the empire: there were wanting only viscounts and marquises.

At the same time that Bonaparte was founding a new nobility, he determined to raise up the old edifice of the university, but on a new foundation. The education of youth had always been one of his ruling ideas, and I had an opportunity of observing how he was changed by the exercise of sovereign power, when I received at Hamburg the statutes of the new elder daughter of the Emperor of the French, and compared them with the ideas which Bonaparte, when general and first consul, had often expressed to me respecting the education which ought to be given youth. Though the sworn enemy of every thing like liberty, Bonaparte had at first conceived a vast system of education, comprising above all the study of history, and those positive sciences, such as geology and astronomy, which give the utmost degree of development to the human mind. The sovereign, however, shrunk from the first ideas of the man of genius, and his university, confided to the elegant subserviency of M. de Fontaines, was merely a school, capable of producing educated subjects, but not enlightened men.

Before taking complete possession of Rome, and making it the second city of the empire, the vaunted moderation of Bonaparte was confined to dismembering from it the legations of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino, which were divided into three departments, and added to the kingdom of Italy. The patience of the holy see could no longer hold out against this act of violence, and Cardinal Caprara, who had remained in Paris since the coronation, at last left that capital. Shortly afterwards, the grand duchies of Parma and Piacenza were united to the French empire, and annexed to the government of the departments beyond the Alps. These transactions were coincident with the events in Spain and Bayonne before mentioned.

* I have made sovereigns, but have never wished to be one myself.—*Editor.*

After the snare laid at Bayonne, the emperor entered Paris on the 14th of August, the eve of his birthday. Scarcely had he arrived in the capital, when he experienced fresh anxiety in consequence of the conduct of Russia, which, as I have stated, had declared open war with Sweden, and did not conceal the intention of seizing Finland. But Bonaparte, desirous of actively carrying on the war in Spain, felt the necessity of removing his troops from Prussia to the Pyrenees. He then hastened the interview at Erfurt, where the two emperors of France and Russia had agreed to meet. He hoped that this interview would ensure the tranquillity of the continent, while he should complete the subjection of Spain to the sceptre of Joseph. That prince had been proclaimed on the 8th of June; and on the 21st of the same month, he made his entry into Madrid, but having received, ten days after, information of the disaster at Baylen, he was obliged to leave the Spanish capital.*

Bonaparte's wishes must at this time have been limited to the tranquillity of the continent; for the struggle between him and England was more desperate than ever. England had just sent troops to Portugal, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley. There was no longer any hope of a reconciliation with Great Britain. The interview at Erfurt, having been determined on, the emperor, who had returned from Bayonne to Paris, again left the capital about the end of September, and arrived at Metz without stopping, except for the purpose of reviewing the regiments which were echelonned on his route, and which were on their march from the grand army to Spain.

I had heard some time previously of the interview which was about to take place, and which was so memorable in the life of Napoleon. It excited so much interest in Germany, that the roads were covered with the equipages of the princes, who were going to Erfurt to witness the meeting. The French emperor arrived there before Alexander, and went forward three leagues to meet him. Napoleon was on horseback, Alexander in a carriage. They embraced, it is said, in a manner expressive of the most cordial friendship.† This interview was witnessed by most of the sovereign princes of Germany. However, neither the King of Prussia nor the Emperor of Austria were present. The latter sovereign sent a letter to Napoleon, of which I obtained a copy. It was as follows:

SIRE MY BROTHER,

My ambassador in Paris informs me, that your majesty is about to proceed to Erfurt to meet the Emperor Alexander. I eagerly seize

* The decisive battle of Baylen, where the French, under General Dupont, were thoroughly beaten by the Spaniards, was fought on the 20th of July, 1808. —*Editor.*

† Savary, who accompanied Napoleon to Erfurt, gives an account of the imperial interview. The reader will find it subjoined to the present chapter.

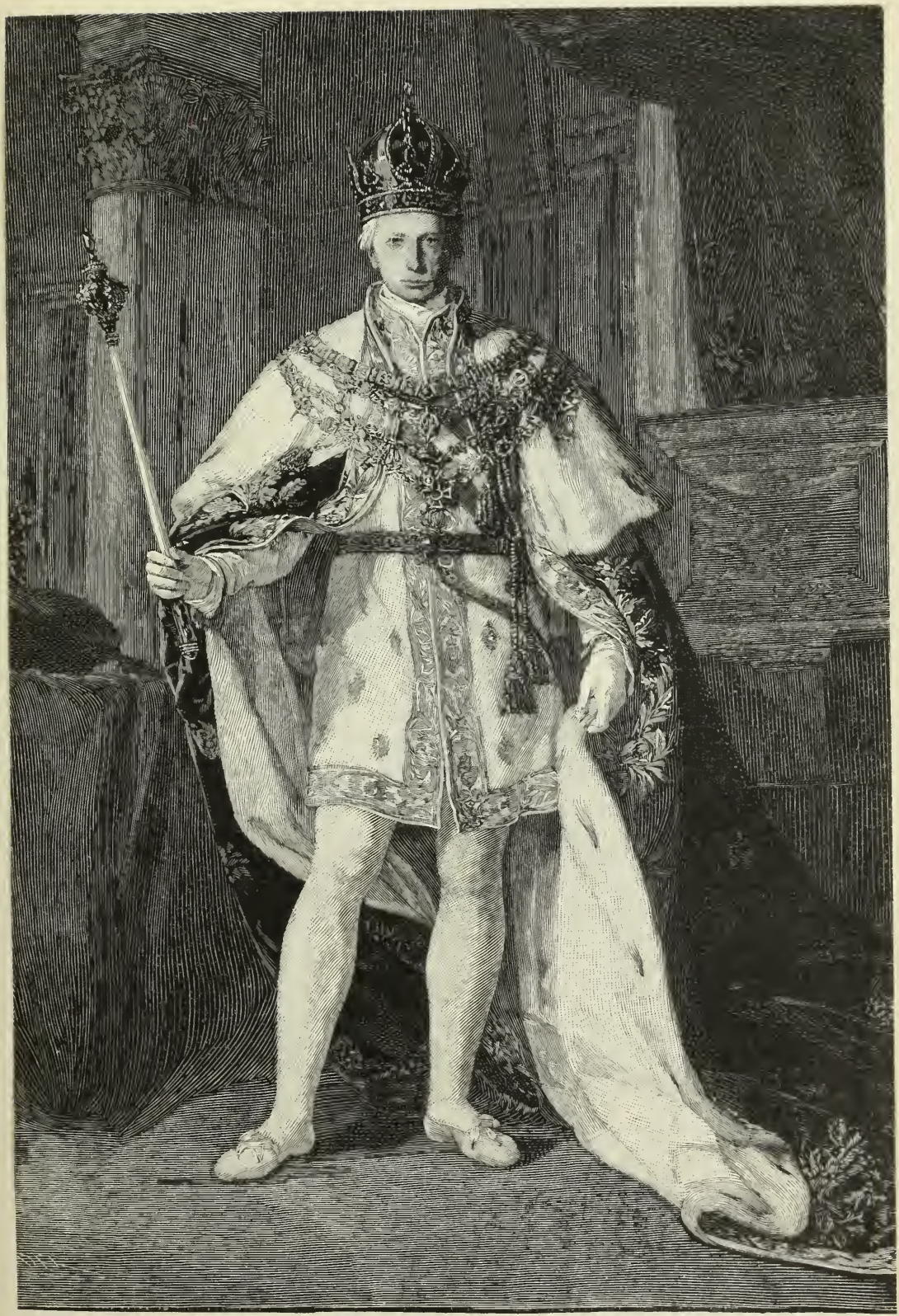
PAINTING BY JULES GIRARDET.

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED.

AN EPISODE OF THE SIEGE OF SARAGOSSA.

Y ERIC PAPE.

CANTINIÈRE OF THE 26TH REGIMENT CLIMBING THE ROCKS AT BUSACO.



. HAIDER. FROM THE PAINTING BY LEOPOLD KUPELWIESER, IN THE IMPERIAL CHÂTEAU OF LAXENBURG,

FRANCIS I., EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

the opportunity of your approach to my frontier, to renew those testimonials of friendship and esteem which I have pledged to you; and I send my lieutenant-general, Baron Vincent,* to convey to you the assurance of my unalterable sentiments. If the false accounts that have been circulated respecting the internal institutions which I have established in my monarchy should for a moment have excited your majesty's doubts as to my intentions, I flatter myself, that the explanations given on that subject by Count Metternich to your minister will have entirely removed them. Baron Vincent is enabled to confirm to your majesty all that has been said by Count Metternich on the subject, and to add any further explanations you may wish for. I beg that your majesty will grant him the same gracious reception he experienced at Paris and at Warsaw. The renewed marks of favour you may bestow on him will be an unequivocal pledge of the reciprocity of your sentiments, and will seal that confidence which will render our satisfaction mutual.

Deign to accept the assurance of the unalterable affection and respect, with which I am, Sire, my brother,

Your imperial and royal majesty's
faithful brother and friend,

FRANCIS.

Presburg, Sept. 18, 1808.

This letter appears to be a model of ambiguity, by which it is impossible Napoleon could have been imposed upon. However, as yet he had no suspicion of the hostility of Austria, which speedily became manifest; his grand object then was the Spanish business, and as I have before observed, one of the secrets of Napoleon's genius was, that he did not apply himself to more than one thing at a time.

At Erfurt Bonaparte attained the principal object he had promised himself by the meeting. Alexander recognised Joseph in his new character of King of Spain and the Indies. It has been said, that as the price of this recognition, Napoleon consented that Alexander should have Swedish Finland: but for the truth of this I cannot vouch. However, I remember that when, after the interview at Erfurt, Alexander had given orders to his ambassador to Charles IV. to continue his functions under King Joseph, the Swedish chargé-d'affaires at Hamburg told me, that confidential letters received by him from Erfurt led him to fear that the emperor Alexander had communicated to Napoleon his designs on Finland, and that Napoleon had given his consent to the occupation. Be this as it may, as soon as the interview was over, Napoleon returned to Paris, where he presided, with much splendour, at the opening of the legislative body, and set out, in the month of November, for Spain.

* According to Carlo Botta, the Emperor of Austria sent his general St. Vincent to the meeting of Erfurt, to caress Bonaparte (*per accarezzarlo*).—*Storia d'Italia.* (*Editor.*)

THE INTERVIEW AT ERFURT.

"The whole of the month of September, 1808, was spent in settling the day for the departure of the respective sovereigns from St. Petersburg and Paris, so that each might regulate his journey, so as to arrive neither too soon nor too late.

"The Emperor Napoleon appointed the guards, provided the quarters, and defrayed the expenses of the tables, &c., not only for the Emperor of Russia, but also for the other sovereigns who attended the interview. Accordingly, a troop of cooks, stewards, and lackeys, were sent from the department of the grand marshal.

"The company of the Théâtre Française also proceeded to Erfurt, for the purpose of performing our best tragedies and comedies. Finally, nothing, however trifling, was neglected that could contribute to the amusement of the sovereigns during their stay at Erfurt.

"The emperor left Paris at the end of September or beginning of October. He went straight to Metz, and on his way he inspected all the corps which were returning from the grand army to proceed to Spain. He stopped them on the road, and after examining them man by man, ordered them to continue their march. In this manner he proceeded to Frankfort.

"The force which he had ordered to Spain was very considerable; for of all the vast army which was in Germany, he left behind only four divisions of infantry, with the cuirassiers, and a few regiments of light troops, that is to say, one-fourth of what there had previously been.

"The news of the interview at Erfurt excited great interest in Germany, and people thronged into the town from all parts. At the residence of the prince primate at Frankfort, a vast number of German princes had assembled to pay their respects to the emperor as he passed through the city. He slept at the residence of the prince primate; and among the company present were the Princes and Princesses of Baden, Darmstadt, and Nassau. They treated the emperor with all the honour due to the protector of the confederation of the Rhine; and they seemed to vie with each other in showing testimonials of their respect and submission.

"The emperor left Frankfort next day, and proceeded straight to Erfurt. On his way he met the King of Westphalia, who had come from Cassel to the frontiers of his states to receive him. M. de Caulaincourt, the French ambassador in Russia, also came to meet the emperor, and he joined us between Erfurt and Gotha. He informed us that the Emperor of Russia was waiting at Weimar for the arrival of the Emperor Napoleon at Erfurt. We accordingly proceeded onward speedily, and arrived at Erfurt very early in the morning. Some troops had been brought into the town, and the first regiment of hussars was stationed in several detachments between Erfurt and Weimar, to render military honours to the Emperor Alexander.

"In conformity with arrangements which had no doubt been made beforehand, the emperor mounted on horseback, together with all who accompanied him. His retinue was followed by a horse for the

NAPOLEON AND ALEXANDER AT ERFURT.

Emperor of Russia; and the saddle which he was in the habit of using was even sent for from Weimar. It had been brought from St. Petersburg expressly for this occasion.

"The emperor had advanced about three leagues from Erfurt when we descried the retinue of the Emperor Alexander, whose carriage was followed by twelve or fifteen calashes. The Emperor Napoleon set off at full gallop, and alighted to embrace the Emperor of Russia when he got out of his carriage. The meeting was as amicable and cordial as the sentiments which the sovereigns mutually cherished towards each other. They both mounted their horses, and proceeded conversing together to Erfurt. The road was lined with the whole population of the surrounding country. The weather was delicious, and seemed to smile auspiciously on the event. The sovereigns were saluted by the artillery from the ramparts; the troops formed a double line, and all the persons of distinction who had come to Erfurt on this occasion, were assembled at the residence which had been prepared for the Emperor Alexander, at the moment when he alighted from his horse accompanied by the Emperor Napoleon.

"The two sovereigns dined together that day, in company with the Grand Duke Constantine, who was with his brother. The grand marshal had stationed a man in the street to watch and give information when the Emperor of Russia's carriage appeared in sight; and whenever Alexander visited the Emperor Napoleon, the latter always stood at the foot of the staircase to receive his guest. The same ceremony was observed when the Emperor Napoleon visited the Emperor of Russia. While they remained at Erfurt they always dined together, except on those days when they had private business to transact at their respective residences. Soon after the arrival of the two emperors at Erfurt, they were followed by the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Westphalia, the Prince Primate, the Princes of Anhalt, Coburg, Saxe-Weimar, Darmstadt, Baden, Nassau, and all who conceived it to be their duty to render homage to such an assemblage of power.

"The King of Prussia did not come. He was represented by his brother, Prince William, who, during a whole winter in Paris, had endured the most painful situation in which a prince of his rank can possibly be placed, and whose conduct, under these trying circumstances, excited public interest and respect. He represented Prussia during the winter which followed the treaty of Tilsit.

"The Emperor of Austria was not present at the interview. The measures which he had taken, the levies and requisitions of every kind which he imposed on his states, had excited the remonstrances of France. His preparations were not finished. Protestations cost him little, and he resolved to make another attempt to deceive Napoleon. He sent General Vincent, who he knew was agreeable to the emperor, to deliver to him a letter in which he sought to remove the doubts which had arisen respecting the constancy of his sentiments.

"The hereditary princes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz, were also at Erfurt.

"The Emperor Napoleon had brought with him M. de Champagny, the minister for foreign affairs. He had, besides, M. de Talleyrand, and, as usual, M. Maret, and the Prince de Neufchatel.

"General Oudinot had been sent as governor to Erfurt, and Marshal Soult, whose corps was proceeding to Spain, remained at Erfurt all the time the emperor staid there. His troops marched on before him, and he rejoined them at Bayonne.

"Several German princesses were also at Erfurt. Among them the Princess of Baden, together with some from the different surrounding countries, the Princess of Tour and Taxis, and the Princess of Wirtemberg, born Coburg, &c. The mornings were invariably spent in visiting. Large dinner-parties were formed, and dramatic representations were given in the evening. As the Emperor of Russia was known to be rather deaf, the company was arranged so that all the sovereigns sat near the orchestra. I recollect that, during the performance of Œdipus, when the following passage occurred: 'The friendship of a great man is a blessing of Heaven,' Alexander turned towards the Emperor Napoleon with the intention of applying the line to him. A murmur of approbation, which ran through the company, showed that the force and justice of the application was felt. In this agreeable manner time slipped away almost imperceptibly at Erfurt."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

CHAPTER IX.

1808.

The Spanish troops in Hamburg—Romana's siesta—His departure for Funen—Celebration of Napoleon's birthday—Romana's defection—English agents and the Dutch troops—Facility of communication between England and the continent—Delay of couriers from Russia—Alarm and complaints—The people of Hamburg—Montesquieu and the minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany—Invitations at six months—Napoleon's journey to Italy—Adoption of Eugène —Lucien's daughter and the Prince of the Asturias—M. Auguste de Staël's interview with Napoleon.

Previous to the interview at Erfurt, an event took place which created a strong interest in Hamburg, and throughout Europe; an event which was planned and executed with inconceivable secrecy. I allude to the defection of the Marquis de la Romana, which I have not hitherto noticed, in order that I might not separate the different facts which came to my knowledge respecting that defection, and the circumstances which accompanied it.

The Marquis de la Romana had come to the Hanse Towns at the head of an army corps of eighteen thousand men, which the emperor, in the preceding campaign, claimed in virtue of treaties previously concluded with the Spanish government. The Spanish troops at first met with a good reception in the Hanse Towns. The difference of language, indeed, occasionally caused

discord; but, when better acquainted, the inhabitants and their visiters became good friends. The Marquis de la Romana was a little swarthy man, of unprepossessing, and rather common appearance; but he had a considerable share of talent and information. He had travelled in almost every part of Europe, and as he had been a close observer of all he saw, his conversation was exceedingly agreeable and instructive.

During his stay at Hamburg, General Romana spent almost every evening at my house, and invariably fell asleep over a game at whist. Madame de Bourrienne was usually his partner, and I recollect he perpetually offered apologies for his involuntary breach of good manners. This, however, did not hinder him from being guilty of the same offence next evening. I will presently explain the cause of this regular siesta.

On the King of Spain's birthday, the Marquis de la Romana gave a magnificent entertainment. The decorations of the ball-room consisted of military attributes. The marquis did the honours with infinite grace, and paid particular attention to the French generals. He always spoke of the emperor in very respectful terms, without any appearance of affectation, so that it was impossible to suspect him of harbouring a bad design. He played his part to the last with the utmost address. At Hamburg we had already received intelligence of the fatal result of the battle of the Sierra Morena, and of the capitulation of Dupont, which disgraced him at the very moment when the whole army marked him out as the man most likely to receive the baton of Marshal of France.

Meanwhile, the Marquis de la Romana departed for the Danish island of Funen, in compliance with the order which Marshal Bernadotte had transmitted to him. There, as at Hamburg, the Spaniards were well liked, for their general obliged them to observe the strictest discipline. Great preparations were made in Hamburg on the approach of Saint Napoleon's day, which was then celebrated with much solemnity in every town in which France had representatives. The Prince de Ponte-Corvo was at Travemunde, a small seaport near Lubeck; but that did not prevent him from giving directions for the festival of the 15th of August. The Marquis de la Romana, the better to deceive the marshal, despatched a courier, requesting permission to visit Hamburg on the day of the fête, in order to join his prayers to those of the French, and to receive, on the day of the fête, from the hands of the prince, the grand order of the Legion of Honour, which he had solicited, and which Napoleon had granted him. Three days after, Bernadotte received intelligence of the defection of de la Romana.—The marquis had contrived to assemble a great number of English vessels on the coast, and to escape with all his troops, except a depot of six hundred men left at Altona. We afterwards heard that he experienced no interruption on his passage, and

that he landed with his troops at Corunna. I now knew to what to attribute the drowsiness which always overcame the Marquis de la Romana when he sat down to take a hand at whist. The fact was, he sat up all night making preparations for the escape which he had long meditated; while, to lull suspicion, he showed himself every where during the day, as usual.*

On the defection of the Spanish troops, I received letters from government requiring me to augment my vigilance, and to seek out those persons who might be supposed to have been in the confidence of the Marquis de la Romana. I was informed that English agents, dispersed through the Hanse Towns, were endeavouring to foment discord and dissatisfaction among the King of Holland's troops. These manœvres were connected with the treason of the Spaniards, and the arrival of Danican in Denmark. Insubordination had already broken out, but it was promptly repressed. Two Dutch soldiers were shot for striking their officers, but notwithstanding this severity, desertion among the troops increased to an alarming degree. Indefatigable agents, in the pay of the English government, laboured incessantly to seduce the soldiers of King Louis from their duty. Some of these agents being denounced to me, were taken almost in the fact, and positive proof being adduced of their guilt, they were condemned to death.

These indispensable examples of severity did not check the

* The Marquis of Londonderry's "Narrative of the Peninsular War," contains the following particulars relative to Romana's defection:

"Whilst the naval and military commanders in the Mediterranean were exerting themselves, an effort was made in the north, and made with the most complete success, to restore to the service of his country one of the ablest officers of which Spain could at that time boast. One of Bonaparte's first measures, when meditating the subjugation of the Peninsula, was to demand from Spain a corps of sixteen thousand veteran troops, whom, under the Marquis de la Romana, he employed for a time upon the banks of the Vistula, and afterwards removed to the shores of the Great Belt. They were distributed at different points in that district, when the standard of independence was raised; and one of the earliest measures of the supreme junta was to issue a proclamation, calling upon them, in the name of their country, to return to its defence. This was necessarily consigned to the care of the British cruisers; and it was not given to them in vain. A scheme for its delivery, as well as for the removal of the soldiers, should they, as it was believed they would, desire to comply with its terms, was immediately devised at London; and the execution of it was committed to Vice-Admiral Keats, an officer well worthy of the trust. It succeeded to admiration; and seven thousand men, with Romana at their head, were transferred from the ranks of the enemy, at a moment of peculiar interest, to those of the patriotic army."—Shut up at Funen in the Baltic, the Spaniards for some time could obtain no information from their own distant country. The first offices of Europe were in the hands of Napoleon—his spies were in the camp of Romana; but nevertheless a bold and skilful agent, a catholic priest, of Scotch extraction, named Robertson, succeeded in getting ashore at Funen in disguise, and in opening communications between the Spanish general and the British Admiral Keats. The combinations then resorted to by Romana to extricate his troops, are entitled to our high admiration.—*Editor.*

manœuvres of England, though they served to cool the zeal of her agents. I used every endeavour to second the Prince of Ponte-Corvo in tracing out the persons employed by England. It was chiefly from the small island of Heligoland that they found their way to the continent. This communication was facilitated by the numerous vessels scattered about the small islands which lie along that coast. Five or six pieces of gold defrayed the expense of the passage to or from Heligoland. Thus the Spanish news, which was printed and often fabricated at London, was profusely circulated in the north of Germany. Packets of papers, addressed to merchants and well-known persons in the German towns, were put into the post-offices of Embden, Knipphausen, Varel, Oldenburg, Delmenhorst, and Bremen. Generally speaking, this part of the coast was not sufficiently well watched to prevent espionage and smuggling; with regard to smuggling, indeed, no power could have entirely prevented it. The continental system had made it a necessity, so that a great part of the population depended on it for subsistence.

In the beginning of December, 1808, we remarked that the Russian courier, who passed through Koningsberg and Berlin, was regularly detained four, five, and even six hours, on his way to Hamburg. The trading portion of the population, always suspicious, became alarmed at this change in the courier's hours, into which they inquired, and soon discovered the cause. It was ascertained that two agents had been stationed, by the postmaster of the grand duchy of Berg at Hamburg, in a village called Eschburg, belonging to the province of Lauenburg. There the courier from Berlin was stopped, and his packets and letters opened. As soon as these facts were known in Hamburg, there was a general consternation among the trading class—that is to say, the whole population of the city. The intelligence soon reached the ears of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, and was confirmed by the official report of the commissioner for the imperial and royal post-office, who complained of the delay of the courier, of the confusion of the packets, and of want of confidence in the imperial post-office. This examination of the letters, sometimes, perhaps, necessary, but often dangerous, and always extremely delicate, created additional alarm, on account of the persons to whom the business was intrusted. If the emperor wished to be made acquainted with the correspondence of certain persons in the north, it would have been natural to intrust the business to his agents and his commissioner at Hamburg, and not to two unknown individuals—another inconvenience attending *black cabinets*. At my suggestion, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo gave orders for putting a stop to the clandestine business at Eschburg.

But for the pain of witnessing vexations of this sort, which I had not always power to prevent, especially after Bernadotte's

removal, my residence at Hamburg would have been delightful. Those who have visited that town know the advantages it possesses from its charming situation on the Elbe, and above all, the delightful country which surrounds it like a garden, and extends to the distance of more than a league along the banks of the Eyder. The manners and customs of the inhabitants bear the stamp of peculiarity; they are fond of pursuing their occupations in the open air. The old men are often seen sitting round tables placed before their doors sipping tea, while the children play before them, and the young people are at their work. These groups have a very picturesque effect, and convey a gratifying idea of the happiness of the people. On seeing the worthy citizens of Hamburg assembled round their doors, I could not help thinking of a beautiful remark of Montesquieu. When he went to Florence with a letter of recommendation to the prime minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he found him sitting at the threshold of his door, inhaling the fresh air, and conversing with some friends.—"I see," said Montesquieu, "that I am arrived among a happy people, since their prime minister can enjoy his leisure moments thus."—A sort of patriarchal simplicity characterizes the manners of the inhabitants of Hamburg: they do not visit each other much, and only by invitation; but on such occasions they display great luxury beneath their simple exterior. They are methodical and punctual to an extraordinary degree. Of this I recollect a curious instance: I was very intimate with Baron Woght, a man of talent and information, and exceedingly amiable manners. One day he called to make us a farewell visit, as he intended to set out on the following day for Paris. On Madame de Bourrienne expressing a hope that he would not protract his absence beyond six months, the period he had fixed upon, he replied, "Be assured, madame, nothing shall prevent me getting home on the day I have appointed, for I have invited a party of friends to dine with me on the day after my return." The baron returned at the appointed time, and none of his guests required to be reminded of his invitation at six months' date.*

Napoleon so well knew the effect which his presence pro-

* Among the peculiarities of the late Lord Guildford, was this: he would invite friends to dine with him at London six or eight months after the date of the invitation; he would then start for the Ionian islands, where he was organizing a university for the Greeks—stay there for months, and then, getting over to Otranto or Brindisi, he would travel back through Italy, Switzerland, and France, to meet his dinner party in London. He generally so *timed* matters as to reach his home only a few hours before the dinner was to be on table. In all this, no doubt there was considerable calculation, and some affectation, but it amused his lordship, and did no harm to any one. He refused an invitation to prolong his stay for a day or two in the city of Lecce, at the extremity of the Italian peninsula, because he had a party fixed for such a day in London, and must travel on, in order to be punctual to the hour! This oddity certainly made the Italian gentry stare with astonishment.—*Editor.*

duced, that after a conquest, he loved to show himself to the people whose territories he added to the empire. Duroc, who always accompanied him when he was not engaged on missions, gave me a curious account of Napoleon's journey in 1807 to Venice, and the other Italian provinces, which, conformably with the treaty of Presburg, were annexed to the kingdom of Italy.

In this journey to the kingdom of Italy, Napoleon had several important objects in view. He was planning great alliances; and he loaded Eugène with favours for the purpose of sounding him, and preparing him for his mother's divorce.

There can be no doubt that Bonaparte now seriously contemplated his divorce from Josephine. Had there been no other proof of this, I, who had learned to read Bonaparte's thoughts in his acts, saw a decided one in the decree of Milan, by which, in default of lawful male heirs, he adopted Eugène as his son and successor to the crown of Italy. Lucien proceeded to Mantua, on the invitation of his brother, and that interview was the last they had before the hundred days. In spite of his republican stoicism, Lucien did not very seriously object to have a Bourbon king for his son-in-law. He consented to give his daughter to the Prince of the Asturias; but the marriage did not take place. It was during this journey that Napoleon united Tuscany to the empire.

Bonaparte returned to Paris on the 1st of January, 1808. On his way, he stopped for a short time at Chambéry, where a young man had been waiting for him several days. This was Madame de Staël's son, who was then not more than seventeen years of age. M. Auguste de Staël lodged at the house of the postmaster of Chambéry, and as the emperor was expected in the course of the night, he gave orders that he should be called up on the arrival of the first courier. The couriers, who had been delayed on the road, did not arrive until six in the morning, and were almost immediately followed by the emperor himself, so that M. de Staël was awakened by the cries of *Vive l'empereur!* He had just time to dress himself hastily, and fly to meet Napoleon, to whom he delivered a letter, which he had prepared beforehand, for the purpose of soliciting an audience. Lauriston, the aide-de-camp on duty, took the letter, it being his business to receive all the letters and petitions which were presented to Napoleon on his way. Before breakfast, the emperor opened the letters which Lauriston had laid on the table; he merely looked at the signatures, and then laid them aside. On opening M. de Staël's letter, he said, "Ah! ah! what have we here? a letter from M. de Staël! .... He wishes to see me. .... What can he want? .... Can there be any thing in common between me and the refugees of Geneva?"—"Sire," observed Lauriston, "he is a very young man; and, as well as I could judge from the little I saw of him, there is something

very prepossessing in his appearance."—"A very young man, say you? . . . . Oh, then I will see him. . . . Rustan, tell him to come in." M. de Staël presented himself to Napoleon with modesty, but without any unbecoming timidity. When he had respectfully saluted the emperor, a conversation ensued between them, which Duroc described to me in nearly the following manner:

As M. de Staël advanced towards the emperor, the latter said, "Whence do you come?"—"From Geneva, Sire."—"Where is your mother?"—"She is either in Vienna, or will soon be there."—"At Vienna!" . . . . Well, that is where she ought to be; and I suppose she is happy. . . . . She will now have a good opportunity of learning German."—"Sire, how can you imagine my mother is happy when she is absent from her country and her friends? If I were permitted to lay before your majesty my mother's confidential letter, you would see how unhappy she is in her exile."—"Ah, bah! your mother unhappy, indeed! . . . . However, I do not mean to say she is altogether bad. . . . She has talent—perhaps too much; and hers is an unbridled talent. She was educated amidst the chaos of the subverted monarchy and the revolution; and out of these events she makes an amalgamation of her own! All this is very dangerous. Her enthusiasm is likely to make proselytes. I must keep watch upon her. She does not like me; and for the interests of those whom she would endanger, I must prohibit her coming to Paris."

Young de Staël stated, that his object in seeking the interview with the emperor, was to petition for his mother's return to Paris. Napoleon having listened without impatience to the reasons he urged in support of his request, said, "But supposing I were to permit your mother to return to Paris, six months would not elapse before I should be obliged to send her to the Bicêtre, or to the Temple.* This I should be sorry to do; because the affair would make a noise, and injure me in public opinion. Tell your mother that my determination is formed, that my decision is irrevocable. She shall never set foot in Paris as long as I live."—"Sire, I cannot believe that you would arbitrarily imprison my mother, if she gave you no reason for such severity."—"She would give me fifty! . . . . I know her well."—"Sire, permit me to say, that I am certain my mother would live in Paris in a way that would afford no ground of reproach; she would live retired, and would see only a very few friends. In spite of your majesty's refusal, I venture to entreat that you will give her a trial, were it only for six weeks, or a month. Permit her, Sire, to pass that time in Paris, and I conjure you to come to no final decision beforehand."—"Do

* The reader cannot have got thus far in the Memoirs of Bonaparte, without knowing that these are the names of two of his state prisons at Paris.—*Editor.*

you think I am to be deceived by these fair promises? . . . . I tell you it cannot be. She would enrol herself under the banner of the Faubourg St. Germain. She see nobody, indeed! Could she make that sacrifice? She would visit and receive company. She would be guilty of a thousand follies. She would be saying things which she may consider as very good jokes, but which I should take seriously.* My government is no joke: I wish this to be well known by every body."—"Sire, will your majesty permit me to repeat, that my mother has no wish whatever to mingle in society. She would confine herself to the circle of a few friends, a list of whom she would give to your majesty. You, Sire, who love France so well, may form some idea of the misery my mother suffers in her banishment. I conjure your majesty to yield to my entreaties, and let us be included in the number of your faithful subjects."—"You!"—"Yes, Sire; or if your majesty persist in your refusal, permit a son to inquire what can have raised your displeasure against his mother. Some say, that it was my grandfather's last work; but I can assure your majesty, that my mother had nothing to do with that."—"Yes, certainly," added Napoleon, with more ill-humour than he had hitherto manifested. "Yes, certainly, that work is very objectionable. Your grandfather was an ideologist, a fool, an old maniac. At sixty years of age, to think of forming plans to overthrow my constitution! States would be well governed, truly, under such theorists, who judge of men from books, and the world from the map."—"Sire, since my grandfather's plans are, in your majesty's eyes, nothing but vain theories, I cannot conceive why they should so highly excite your displeasure. There is no political economist, who has not traced out plans of constitutions."—"Oh! as to political economists, they are mere visionaries, who are dreaming of plans of finance while they are unfit to fulfil the duties of a schoolmaster in the most insignificant village in the empire. Your grandfather's work is that of an obstinate old man, who died abusing all governments."—"Sire, may I presume to suppose, from the way in which you speak of it, that your majesty judges from the report of malignant persons, and that you have not yourself read it?"—"That is a mistake. I have read it myself, from beginning to end."—"Then your majesty must have seen how my grandfather renders justice to your genius."—"Fine justice, truly! . . . . He calls me the indispensable man, but, judging from his arguments, the best thing that could be done would be to cut my throat! Yes, I was, indeed, indispensable to repair the follies of your grandfather, and the mischief he did to France. It was he who overturned the monarchy, and led Louis XVI. to the scaffold."—"Sire, you seem to forget that

* For example, Madame's joke of calling him a Robespierre on horseback —*Editor.*

my grandfather's property was confiscated because he defended the king."—" Defended the king! A fine defence, truly! You might as well say, that if I give a man poison, and present him with an antidote when he is in the agonies of death, I wish to save him! Yet, that is the way your grandfather defended Louis XVI. . . . As to the confiscation you speak of, what does that prove? Nothing. Why, the property of Robespierre was confiscated! And let me tell you, that Robespierre himself, Marat, and Danton, did much less mischief to France than M. Necker. It was he who brought about the revolution. You, Monsieur de Staël, did not see this; but I did. I witnessed all that passed in those days of terror and public calamity. But, as long as I live, those days shall never return. Your speculators trace their Utopian schemes upon paper; fools read, and believe them. All are babbling about general happiness, and presently the people have not bread to eat: then comes a revolution. Such is usually the fruit of all these fine theories! Your grandfather was the cause of the saturnalia which desolated France."*

Duroc informed me that the emperor uttered these last words in a tone of fury which made all present tremble for young de Staël. Fortunately, the young man did not lose his self-possession in the conflict, while the agitated expression of his countenance evidently showed what was passing in his mind. He was sufficiently master of himself to reply to the emperor in a calm, though rather faltering, voice:—" Sire, permit me to hope that posterity will judge of my grandfather more favourably than your majesty does. During his administration he was ranked by the side of Sully and Colbert; and let me repeat again, that I trust posterity will render him justice."—" Posterity will, probably, say little about him."—" I venture to hope the contrary, Sire."

Then, added Duroc, the emperor turning to us said, with a smile, " After all, gentlemen, it is not for me to say too much against the revolution, since I have caught a throne by it." Then again turning to M. de Staël, he said, " The reign of anarchy is at end. I must have subordination. *Respect the sovereign authority, since it comes from God.* You are young, and well educated; therefore, follow a better course, and avoid those bad principles which commit the welfare of society."—" Sire, since your majesty does me the honour to think me well educated, you ought not to condemn the principles of my grandfather and my mother; for it is in those principles that I have been brought up."—" Well, I advise you to keep right in politics; for I will not pardon any offences of the Necker kind. Every one should keep right in politics."

* For the defence of M. Necker, the reader may consult Madame de Staël's work on the French revolution.—*Editor.*

This conversation, Duroc informed me, had continued the whole time of breakfast, and the emperor rose just as he pronounced these last words: "Every one should keep right in politics." At that moment young de Staël again renewed his solicitations for his mother's recal from exile. Bonaparte then stepped up to him, and pinched his ear with that air of familiarity which was customary to him when he was in good humour, or wished to appear so. "You are young," said he; "if you had my age and experience, you would judge of things more correctly. I am far from being displeased with your frankness. I like to see a son plead his mother's cause. Your mother has given you a difficult commission, and you have executed it cleverly. I am glad I have had this opportunity of conversing with you. I love to talk with young people, when they are unassuming, and not too fond of arguing. But in spite of that, I will not hold out false hopes to you. Murat has already spoken to me on the subject, and I have told him, as I now tell you, that my will is irrevocable. If your mother were in prison, I should not hesitate to liberate her; but nothing shall induce me to recal her from exile."—"But, Sire, is she not as unhappy in being banished from her country and her friends as if she were in prison?"—"Oh! those are your mother's romantic ideas. She is exceedingly unhappy, and much to be pitied, no doubt! . . . With the exception of Paris, she has all Europe for her prison."—"But, Sire, her friends are in Paris."—"With her talents, she may make friends any where. After all, I cannot understand why she should be so anxious to come to Paris. Why should she wish to place herself immediately within the reach of my tyranny? Can she not go to Rome, to Berlin, to Vienna, to Milan, or to London? Yes, let her go to London; that is the place for her. There she may libel me as much as she pleases. In short, she has my full liberty to be any where but in Paris. You see, Monsieur de Staël, *that* is the place of my residence, and *there* I will have only those who are attached to me. I know, from experience, that if I were to allow your mother to come to Paris, she would spoil every body about me. She would finish the spoiling of Garat. It was she who ruined the tribunate. I know she would promise wonders; but she cannot refrain from meddling with politics."—"I can assure your majesty, that my mother does not now concern herself about politics. She devotes herself exclusively to the society of her friends and to literature."—"Ah, there it is! . . . Literature! Do you think I am to be imposed upon by that word? While discoursing on literature, morals, the fine arts, and such matters, it is easy to dabble in politics. Let women mind their knitting. If your mother were in Paris, I should hear all sorts of reports about her. Things, might, indeed, be falsely attributed to her; but, be that as it may, I will have nothing of the kind going on

in the capital in which I reside. All things considered, advise your mother to go to London. That is the best place for her. As for your grandfather, I have not spoken too severely of him. M. Necker knew nothing of the art of government. I have learned something of the matter during the last twenty years." —"All the world, Sire, renders justice to your majesty's genius, and there is no one but acknowledges that the finances of France are now more prosperous than ever they were before your reign. But, permit me to observe, that your majesty must, doubtless, have seen some merit in the financial regulations of my grandfather, since you have adopted some of them in the admirable system you have established."—"That proves nothing; for two or three good ideas do not constitute a good system. Be that as it may, I say again, I will never allow your mother to return to Paris."—"But, Sire, if sacred interests should absolutely require her presence there for a few days, would not . . . ."—"How! Sacred interests! What do you mean?"—"Yes, Sire, if you do not allow her to return, I shall be obliged to go there, unaided by her advice, in order to recover from your majesty's government the payment of a sacred debt."—"Ah! bah! Sacred! Are not all the debts of the state sacred?"—"Doubtless, Sire; but ours is attended with circumstances which give it a peculiar character."—"A peculiar character! Nonsense! Does not every state creditor say the same of his debt? Besides, I know nothing of your claim. It does not concern me, and I will not meddle with it. If you have the law on your side, so much the better; but if you want favour I tell you I will not interfere. If I did, I should be rather against you than otherwise."—"Sire, my brother and myself had intended to settle in France; but how can we live in a country where our mother cannot visit us?" —"I do not care for that. I do not advise you to come here. Go to England. The English like wrangling politicians. Go there, for in France, I tell you candidly, that I should be rather against you than for you."

"After this conversation," added Duroc, "the emperor got into the carriage with me, without stopping to look to the other petitions which had been presented to him. He preserved unbroken silence until he got nearly opposite the cascade, on the left of the road, a few leagues from Chambéry. He appeared to be absorbed in reflection. At length he said, 'I fear I have been somewhat too harsh with this young man . . . . But no matter, it will prevent others from troubling me. These people calumniate every thing I do. They do not understand me, Duroc; their place is not in France. How can Necker's family be for the Bourbons, whose first duty, if ever they returned to France, would be to hang them all?'"

This conversation, related to me by Duroc, interested me so much that I noted it down on paper immediately after my interview.*

* For a brief, but good notice of M. the Baron Auguste de Staël, who, as a mere stripling, figures so advantageously in this remarkable scene, we may refer the reader to "Mélanges Historiques et Littéraires, par M. de Baron de Barante, Pair de France, &c. &c." vol. ii. p. 359. Paris Edition of 1835.

After the fall of Bonaparte, Auguste de Staël became an orator and a political writer of high reputation. See his "Œuvres diverses," Paris, 1829.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER X.

1808.

The republic of Batavia—The crown of Holland offered to Louis—Offer and refusal of the crown of Spain—Napoleon's attempt to get possession of Brabant—Napoleon before and after Erfurt—A remarkable letter to Louis—Louis summoned to Paris—His honesty and courage—His bold language—Louis's return to Holland, and his letter to Napoleon—Harsh letter from Napoleon to Louis—Affray at Amsterdam—Napoleon's displeasure and last letter to his brother—Louis's abdication in favour of his son—Union of Holland to the French empire—Protest of Louis against that measure—Letter from M. Otto to Louis.

While Bonaparte was the chief of the French republic, he had no objection to the existence of a Batavian republic in the north of France, and he equally tolerated the Cisalpine republic in the south. But after the coronation all the republics, which were grouped like satellites round the grand republic, were converted into kingdoms, subject to the empire, if not avowedly, at least in fact. In this respect there was no difference between the Batavian and Cisalpine republic. The latter having been metamorphosed into the kingdom of Italy, it was necessary to find some pretext for transforming the former into the kingdom of Holland. The government of the republic of Batavia had been for some time past merely the shadow of a government; but still it preserved, even in its submission to France, those internal forms of freedom which console a nation for the loss of independence. The emperor kept up such an extensive agency in Holland, that he easily got up a deputation, soliciting him to choose a king for the Batavian republic. This submissive deputation came to Paris in 1806, to solicit the emperor, as a favour, to place Prince Louis on the throne of Holland. The address of the deputation, the answer of Napoleon, and the speech of Louis on being raised to the sovereign dignity, have all been published.

Louis became King of Holland much against his inclination, for he opposed the proposition as much as he dared, alleging as an objection the state of his health, to which certainly the climate of Holland was not favourable; but Bonaparte sternly replied to his remonstrance, "It is better to die a king than live a prince." He was then obliged to accept the crown. He went to Holland accompanied by Hortense, who, however, did not stay long there. The new king wanted to make himself beloved by his subjects, and as they were an entirely commercial people, the best way to win their affections was not to adopt Napoleon's rigid laws against commercial intercourse with England. Hence the first coolness between the two brothers, which ended in the abdication of Louis.

I know not whether Napoleon recollected the motive assigned by Louis for at first refusing the crown of Holland, namely, the climate of the country, or whether he calculated upon greater submission in another of his brothers; but this is certain, that Joseph was not called from the throne of Naples to the throne of Spain, until after the refusal of Louis. I have in my possession a copy of a letter written to him by Napoleon on the subject. It is without date of time or place; but its contents prove it to have been written in March or April, 1808. It is as follows:

BROTHER,

The King of Spain, Charles IV., has just abdicated. The Spanish people loudly appeal to me. Certain of obtaining no solid peace with England, unless I cause a great movement on the continent, I have determined to place a French king on the throne of Spain. The climate of Holland does not agree with you; besides, Holland cannot rise from her ruins. In the whirlwind of events, whether we have peace or not, there is no possibility of maintainng it. In this state of things, I have thought of the throne of Spain for you. Give me your opinions categorically on this measure. If I were to name you King of Spain, would you accept the offer? May I count on you? Answer me these two questions. Say, "I have received your letter of such a day, I answer, *yes;*" and then I shall count on your doing what I wish; or say "*No,*" if you decline my proposal. Let no one enter into your confidence, and mention to no one the object of this letter. The thing must be done before we confess having thought about it.

NAPOLEON.

Before finally seizing Holland, Napoleon formed the project of separating Babant and Zealand from it, in exchange for other provinces, the possession of which was doubtful; but Louis successfully resisted this first act of usurpation. Bonaparte was too intent on the great business in Spain to risk any commotion in the north, where the declaration of Russia against Sweden already sufficiently occupied him. He therefore did not

insist upon, and even affected indifference to the proposed augmentation of the territory of the empire. This, at least, may be collected from another letter, dated Saint-Cloud, August 17, written upon hearing from M. Alexander de la Rochefoucauld, his ambassador in Holland, and from his brother himself, the opposition of Louis to his project.

The letter was as follows:

BROTHER,

I have received your letter relating to that of the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld. He was only authorized to make the proposals indirectly. Since the exchange does not please you, let us think no more about it. It was useless to make a parade of principles, though I never said that you ought not to consult the nation. The well-informed part of the Dutch people had already acknowledged their indifference to the loss of Brabant, which is connected with France rather than with Holland, and interspersed with expensive fortresses; it might have been advantageously exchanged for ch northern provinces. But once for all, since you do not like this arrangement, let no more be said about it. It was useless even to mention it to me; for the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld was instructed merely to hint the matter.

Though ill-humour here evidently peeps out beneath affected condescension, yet the tone of this letter is singularly moderate. I may even say, kind, in comparison with other letters which Napoleon addressed to Louis. This letter, it is true, was written previously to the interview at Erfurt, when Napoleon, to avoid alarming Russia, made his ambition appear to slumber. But when he got his brother Joseph recognised, and when he had himself struck an important blow in the peninsula, he began to change his tone to Louis. On the 20th of December he wrote a very remarkable letter, which exhibits the unreserved expression of that tyranny which he wished to exercise over all his family, in order to make them the instruments of his despotism. He reproached Louis for not following his system of policy, telling him that he had forgotten he was a Frenchman, and that he wished to become a Dutchman. Among other things he said—

Your Majesty has done more; you took advantage of the moment when I was involved in the affairs of the continent, to renew the relations between Holland and England—to violate the laws of the blockade, which are the only means of effectually destroying the latter power. I expressed my dissatisfaction by forbidding you to come to France, and I have made you feel, that even without the assistance of my armies, by merely closing the Rhine, the Weser, the Scheldt, and the Meuse, against Holland, I should have placed her in a situation more critical than if I had declared war against her. Your Majesty implored my generosity, appealed to my feelings as a brother, and promised to alter your conduct. I thought this warning would be sufficient. I raised my custom-house prohibitions; but

your Majesty has returned to your old system.....Your Majesty received all the American ships that presented themselves in the ports of Holland, after having been expelled from those of France. I have been obliged a second time to prohibit trade with Holland. In this state of things we may consider ourselves really at war. In my speech to the legislative body I manifested my displeasure; for I will not conceal from you, that my intention is to unite Holland with France. This will be the most severe blow I can aim against England, and will deliver me from the perpetual insults which the plotters of your cabinet are constantly directing against me. The mouths of the Rhine and of the Meuse, ought, indeed, to belong to me. The principle that the *Thalweg* (towing path) of the Rhine, is the boundary of France, is a fundamental principle. Your Majesty writes to me on the 17th, that you are sure of being able to prevent all trade between Holland and England. I am of opinion that your Majesty promises more than you can fulfil. I shall, however, raise my custom-house prohibitions, whenever the existing treaties may be executed. The following are my conditions:—First. The interdiction of all trade and communication with England. Second. The supply of a fleet of fourteen sail of the line, seven frigates and seven brigs or corvettes, armed and manned. Third. An army of twenty-five thousand men. Fourth. The suppression of the rank of marshals. Fifth. The abolition of all the privileges of nobility, which are contrary to the constitution. Your Majesty may negotiate on these bases with the Duke de Cadore, through the medium of your minister; but be assured, that on the entrance of the first packet-boat into Holland, I will restore my prohibitions, and that *the first Dutch officer who may presume to insult my flag, shall be seized and hanged at the mainyard.* Your Majesty will find in me a brother if you prove yourself a Frenchman; but if you forget the sentiments which attach you to our common country, you cannot think it extraordinary that I should lose sight of those which nature created between us. In short, the union of Holland and France will be, of all things, most useful to France, to Holland, and the whole continent, because it will be most injurious to England. This union must be effected willingly, or by force. Holland has given me sufficient reason to declare war against her. However, I shall not scruple to consent to an arrangement which will secure to me the limit of the Rhine, and by which Holland will pledge herself to fulfil the conditions stipulated above.

Here the correspondence between the two brothers was suspended for a time; but Louis still continued exposed to new vexations on the part of Napoleon. About the end of 1809, the emperor summoned all the sovereigns who might be called his vassals to Paris. Among the number was Louis, who, however, did not show himself very willing to quit his states. He called a council of his ministers, who were of opinion that for the interest of Holland he ought to make this new sacrifice. He did so with resignation. Indeed, every day passed on the throne was a sacrifice made by Louis.

He lived very retired in Paris, and was closely watched by the police; for it was supposed that as he had come against his will, he would not protract his stay as long as Napoleon wished. The system of spying under which he found himself placed, added to the other circumstances of his situation, inspired him with a degree of energy of which he was not believed to be capable; and amidst the general silence of the servants of the empire, and even of the kings and princes assembled in the capital, he ventured to say, "I have been deceived by promises which were never intended to be kept. Holland is tired of being the sport of France." The emperor, who was unused to such language as this, was highly incensed at it. Louis had now no alternative, but to yield to the incessant exactions of Napoleon, or to see Holland united to France. He chose the latter, though not before he had exerted all his feeble power in behalf of the subjects whom Napoleon had consigned to him; but he would not be the accomplice of the man who had resolved to make those subjects the victims of his hatred against England. Who, indeed, could be so blind as not to see, that the ruin of the continent would be the triumph of British commerce?

Louis was, however, permitted to return to his states, to contemplate the stagnating effect of the continental blockade on every branch of trade and industry, formerly so active in Holland. Distressed at witnessing evils to which he could apply no remedy, he endeavoured by some prudent remonstrances to avert the utter ruin with which Holland was threatened. On the 23d of March, 1810, he wrote the following letter to Napoleon:

If you wish to consolidate the present state of France, to obtain maritime peace, or to attack England with advantage, those objects are not to be obtained by measures like the blockading system, the destruction of a kingdom raised by yourself, or the enfeebling of your allies, and setting at defiance their most sacred rights and the first principles of the law of nations. You should, on the contrary, win their affections for France, and consolidate and reinforce your allies, making them like your brothers, in whom you may place confidence. The destruction of Holland, far from being the means of assailing England, will serve only to increase her strength, by all the industry and wealth, which will fly to her for refuge. There are, in reality, only three ways of assailing England, namely, by detaching Ireland, getting possession of the East Indies, or by invasion. These two latter modes, which would be the most effectual, cannot be executed without naval force. But I am astonished that the first should have been so easily relinquished. That is a more secure mode of obtaining peace on good conditions than the system of injuring ourselves for the sake of committing a greater injury upon the enemy.

LOUIS.

Written remonstrances were no more to Napoleon's taste than verbal ones, at a time when, as I was informed by my friends,

whom fortune chained to his destiny, no one presumed to address a word to him, except in answer to his questions. Cambacérès, who alone had retained that privilege in public as his old colleague in the consulate, lost it after Napoleon's marriage with the daughter of Imperial Austria. His brother's letter highly roused his displeasure. Two months after he received it, being on a journey in the north, he replied from Ostend by a letter, which cannot be read without a feeling of pain, since it serves to show how weak are the most sacred ties of blood in comparison with the interests of an insatiable policy. This letter was as follows:

Brother,

In the situation in which we are placed, it is best to speak candidly. I know your secret sentiments, and all that you can say to the contrary can avail nothing. Holland is certainly in a melancholy situation. I believe you are anxious to extricate her from her difficulties: it is you, and you alone, who can do this. When you conduct yourself in such a way as to induce the people of Holland to believe that you act under my influence, that all your measures and all your sentiments are conformable with mine, then you will be loved, you will be esteemed, and you will acquire the power requisite for re-establishing Holland: when to be my friend, and the friend of France, shall become a title of favour at your court, Holland will be in her natural situation. Since your return from Paris, you have done nothing to effect this object. What will be the result of your conduct? Your subjects bandied about between France and England, will throw themselves into the arms of France, and will demand to be united to her. You know my character, which is to pursue my object unimpeded by any consideration. What, therefore, do you expect me to do? I can dispense with Holland: but Holland cannot dispense with my protection. If, under the dominion of one of my brothers, but looking to me alone for her welfare, she does not find in her sovereign my image, all confidence in your government is at an end; your sceptre is broken. Love France, love my glory—that is the only way to serve Holland, if you had acted as you ought to have done, that country, having become a part of my empire, would have been the more dear to me, since I had given her a sovereign whom I almost regarded as my son. In placing you on the throne of Holland, I thought I had placed a French citizen there. You have followed a course diametrically opposite to what I expected. I have been forced to prohibit you from coming to France, and to take possession of a part of your territory. In proving yourself a bad Frenchman, you are less to the Dutch than a Prince of Orange, to whose family they owe their rank as a nation, and a long succession of prosperity and glory. By your banishment from France, the Dutch are convinced that they have lost what they would not have lost under a Schimmelpenninck, or a Prince of Orange. Prove yourself a Frenchman, and the brother of the emperor, and be assured that, thereby, you will serve the interests of Holland. But you seem to be incorrigible, for you would drive away the few Frenchmen who remain with you. You must be dealt with, not by affectionate advice, but by threats and compulsion. What mean the prayers, and mysterious

fasts you have ordered? Louis, you will not reign long. Your actions disclose better than your confidential letters, the sentiments of your mind. Return to the right course. Be a Frenchman in heart, or your people will banish you, and you will leave Holland an object of ridicule.* States must be governed by reason and policy, and not by the weakness produced by acrid and vitiated humours.

NAPOLEON.

A few days after this letter was despatched to Louis, Napoleon heard of a paltry affray which had taken place at Amsterdam, and to which Count de la Rochefoucauld gave a sort of diplomatic importance, being aware that he could not better please his master than by affording him an excuse for being angry. It appeared that the honour of the count's coachman had been put in jeopardy by the insult of a citizen of Amsterdam, and a quarrel had ensued, which, but for the interference of the guard of the palace, might have terminated seriously, since it assumed the character of a party affair between the French and Dutch. M. de la Rochfoucauld immediately despatched to the emperor, who was then at Lille, a full report of his coachman's quarrel, in which he expressed himself with as much earnestness as the illustrious author of the "Maxims" evinced when he waged war against kings. The consequence was, that Napoleon instantly fulminated the following letter against his brother Louis:

BROTHER,

At the very moment when you were making the fairest protestations, I learn that the servants of my ambassador have been ill-treated at Amsterdam. I insist that those who were guilty of this outrage be delivered up to me, in order that their punishment may serve as an example to others. The Sieur Serrurier has informed me how you conducted yourself at the diplomatic audiences. I have, consequently, determined that the Dutch ambassador shall not remain in Paris; and Admiral Verhuell has received orders to depart within twenty-four hours. I want no more phrases and protestations. It is time I should know whether you intend to ruin Holland by your follies. I do not choose that you should again send a minister to Austria, or that you should dismiss the French who are in your service. I have recalled my ambassador as I intend only to have a chargé d'affaires in Holland. The Sieur Serrurier, who remains there in that capacity, will communicate my intentions. My ambassador shall no longer be exposed to your insults. Write to me no more of those set phrases which you have been repeating for the last three years, and the falsehood of which is proved every day.

This is the last letter I will ever write to you as long as I live.

NAPOLEON.

* It was on the contrary, because Louis made himself a Dutchman, that his people *did not* banish him, and that he carried away with him the regret of all that portion of his subjects who could appreciate his excellent qualities, and possessed good sense enough to perceive that he was not to blame for the evils that weighed upon Holland.—*Bourrienne.* The conduct of Bonaparte to Murat was almost a counterpart to this. When Murat attempted to consult the interests of Naples he was called a traitor to France.—*Editor.*

Thus reduced to the cruel alternative of crushing Holland with his own hands, or leaving that task to the emperor, Louis did not hesitate to lay down his sceptre. Having formed this resolution, he addressed a message to the legislative body of the kingdom of Holland, explaining the motives of his abdication. What, indeed, could be more reasonable than that measure, when he found an armed force occupying his dominions, which had been united to the empire by what was formerly called a family alliance? But at that time no consideration could restrain the arbitrary will of Napoleon. The French troops entered Holland, under the command of the Duke of Reggio; and that marshal, who was more a king than the king himself, threatened to occupy Amsterdam. Louis then descended from his throne, and four years after Napoleon was hurled from his.

In his act of abdication, Louis declared that he had been driven to that step by the unhappy state of his kingdom, which he attributed to his brother's unfavourable feelings towards him. He added, that he had made every effort and sacrifice to put an end to that painful state of things, and that, finally, he regarded himself as the cause of the continual misunderstanding between the French empire and Holland. It is curious that Louis thought he could abdicate the crown of Holland in favour of his son, as Napoleon only four years after wished to abdicate his crown in favour of the King of Rome, How often do these similarities occur in the history of Napoleon! In the depth of his adversities, how often was he assailed with precisely the same blows he had aimed at others in the height of his fortune!

Louis bade farewell to the people of Holland in a proclamation, after the publication of which he repaired to the waters at Tœplitz. There he was living in tranquil retirement, when he learned that his brother had united Holland to the empire. He then published a protest, of which I obtained a copy, though its circulation was strictly prohibited by the police. In this protest, Louis said—

The constitution of the state, guaranteed by the emperor, my brother, gave me the right of abdicating in favour of my children. That abdication was made in the form and terms prescribed by the constitution. The emperor had no right to declare war against Holland, and he has not done so.

There is no act, no assent, no demand of the Dutch nation that can authorize the pretended union.

My abdication does not leave the throne vacant. I have abdicated only in favour of my children.

As that abdication left Holland for twelve years under a regency, that is to say, under the direct influence of the emperor, according to the terms of the constitution, there was no need of that union for executing every measure he might have in view against trade and against England, since his will was supreme in Holland.

But I ascended the throne without any other conditions except

those imposed upon me by my conscience, my duty, and the interest and welfare of my subjects. I therefore declare, before God and the independent sovereigns to whom I address myself—

First. That the treaty of the 16th of March, 1810, which occasioned the separation of the province of Zealand and Brabant from Holland, was accepted by compulsion, and ratified, conditionally, by me in Paris, where I was detained against my will; and that, moreover, the treaty was never executed by the emperor, my brother. Instead of six thousand French troops, which I was to maintain, according to the terms of the treaty, that number has been more than doubled: instead of occupying only the mouths of the rivers and the coasts, the French custom-houses have encroached into the interior of the country; instead of the interference of France being confined to the measures connected with the blockade of England, Dutch magazines have been seized and Dutch subjects arbitrarily imprisoned; finally, none of the verbal promises have been kept which were made in the emperor's name, by the Duke de Cadore, to grant indemnities for the countries ceded by the said treaty, and to mitigate its execution, if the king would refer entirely to the emperor, &c. I declare, in my name, in the name of the nation, and my son, the treaty of the 16th of March, 1810, to be null and void.

Second. I declare, that my abdication was forced by the emperor, my brother, that it was made only as the last extremity, and on this one condition—that I should maintain the rights of Holland and my children. My abdication could only be made in their favour.

Third. In my name, in the name of the king, my son,* who is as yeta minor, and in the name of the Dutch nation, I declare the pretended union of Holland to France, mentioned in the decree of the emperor, my brother, dated the 9th of July last, to be null, void, illegal, unjust, and arbitrary in the eyes of God and man; and that the nation and the minor king will assert their just rights, when circumstances permit them.

LOUIS.

August 1, 1810.

Thus there seemed to be an end of all intercourse between these two brothers, who were so opposite in character and disposition. But Napoleon, who was enraged that Louis should have presumed to protest, and that in energetic terms, against the union of his kingdom with the empire, ordered him to return

* The eldest son of Louis, one of the fruits of his unhappy marriage with Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine, the wife of his brother Napoleon, was little more than six years of age when his father abdicated the crown of Holland in his favour. In 1830-31, this imprudent young man joined the ill-combined, mad insurrection in the states of the Pope. He was present in one or two petty skirmishes, and was, we believe, wounded; but it was a *malaria* fever, caught in the unhealthy Campagna of Rome, that carried him to the grave in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He thought that his name—NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE, would be enough to revolutionize all Italy, and drive out of it not merely the poor old Pope, but the Austrians, the King of Naples, and all the other princes that reign there. He was sadly disappointed!—*Editor.*

to France, whither he was summoned in his character of constable and French prince. Louis, however, did not think proper to obey this summons, and Napoleon, faithful to his promise of never writing to him again, ordered the following letter to be addressed to him by M. Otto, who had been ambassador from France to Vienna, since the yet recent marriage of the emperor with Maria Louisa.

SIRE,

The emperor directs me to write to your Majesty as follows:

"It is the duty of every French prince, and every member of the imperial family, to reside in France, whence they cannot absent themselves without the permission of the emperor. Before the union of Holland to the empire, the emperor permitted the king to reside at Tœplitz, in Bohemia. His health appeared to require the use of the waters; but now the emperor requires that Prince Louis shall return, at the latest by the 1st of December next, under pain of being considered as disobeying the constitution of the empire and the head of his family, and being treated accordingly."

I fulfil, Sire, word for word, the mission with which I have been intrusted, and I send the chief secretary of the embassy, to be assured that this letter is rightly delivered. I beg your Majesty to accept the homage of my respect, &c.

OTTO.

What a letter was this to be addressed by a subject to a prince and a sovereign! When I afterwards saw M. Otto in Paris, and conversed with him on the subject, he assured me how much he had been distressed at the necessity of writing such a letter to the brother of the emperor. He had employed the expressions dictated by Napoleon, in that irritation which he could never command when his will was opposed.*

* With regard to Louis and his conduct in Holland, Napoleon thus spoke at St. Helena:

"Louis is not devoid of intelligence, and has a good heart; but even with these qualifications a man may commit many errors, and do a great deal of mischief. Louis is naturally inclined to be capricious and fantastical, and the works of Jean Jacques Rousseau have contributed to increase this disposition. Seeking to obtain a reputation for sensibility and beneficence, incapable by himself of enlarged views, and, at most, competent to local details, Louis acted like a prefect rather than a king.

"No sooner had he arrived in Holland, than fancying that nothing could be finer than to have it said that he was thenceforth a true Dutchman, he attached himself entirely to the party favourable to the English, promoted smuggling, and thus connived with our enemies. It became necessary from that moment to watch over him, and even threaten to wage war against him. Louis then seeking a refuge against the weakness of his disposition in the most stubborn obstinacy, and mistaking a public scandal for an act of glory, fled from his throne, declaiming against me and against my insatiable ambition, my intolerable tyranny, &c. What then remained for me to do? Was I to abandon Holland to our enemies? Ought I to have given it another king? But in that case could I have expected more from him than from my own brother? Did not all the

WN BY ERIC PAPE.

MARBOT'S TROOPS, IN RATISBON, GUIDED TO THE BRIDGE BY A FRIGHTENED FRENCHWOMAN.

kings that I created act nearly in the same manner? I therefore united Holland to the empire; and this act produced a most unfavourable impression in Europe, and contributed not a little to lay the foundation of our misfortunes."—*Mémorial de Sainte Hélène.*

We will leave it to the good sense of the reader to compare this statement with the full and affecting narrative of Bourrienne. But in weighty affairs like these it may be useful, as it certainly is fair, to give both sides of the question.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XI.

1809.

Demands for contingents from some of the small states of Germany—M. Metternich—Position of Russia with respect to France—Union of Austria and Russia—Return of the English to Spain—Soult King of Portugal, and Murat successor to the emperor—First levy of the Landwehre in Austria—Agents of the Hamburg Correspondent—Letter from Napoleon to the Emperor of Austria—Declaration of Prince Charles—Napoleon's march to Germany—His proclamation—Bernadotte's departure for the army—Napoleon's dislike of Bernadotte—Prince Charles's plan of campaign—The English at Cuxhaven—Fruitlessness of the plots of England—Napoleon wounded—Napoleon's prediction realized—Major Schill—Hamburg threatened and saved—Schill in Lubeck—His death, and destruction of his band—Schill imitated by the Duke of Brunswick-Œls—Departure of the English from Cuxhaven.

Bonaparte, the bases of whose empire were his sword and his victories, and who was anxiously looking forward to the time when the sovereigns of continental Europe should be his *juniors*, applied for contingents of troops from the states to which I was accredited. The Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin was to furnish a regiment of eighteen hundred men, and the other little states, such as Oldenburg and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, were to furnish regiments of less amount. All Europe was required to rise in arms to second the gigantic projects of the new sovereign. This demand for contingents, and the positive way in which the emperor insisted upon them, gave rise to an immense correspondence, which, however, was unattended by any result. The notes and orders remained in the portfolios, and the contingents stayed at home.

M. Metternich, whose talent has since been so conspicuously displayed, had been for upwards of a year ambassador from Austria to Paris. Even then he excelled in the art of insinuation, and of turning to the advantage of his policy his external graces, and the favour he acquired in the drawing-room. His father, a clever man, brought up in the old diplomatic school

of Thugut and Kaunitz, had early accustomed him to the task of making other governments believe, by means of agents, what might lead them into error, and tend to the advantage of his own government. His manœuvres tended to make Austria assume a discontented and haughty tone; and wishing, as she said, to secure her independence, she publicly declared her intention of protecting herself against any enterprise similar to those of which she had so often been the victim. This language, encouraged by the complete evacuation of Germany, and the war in Spain, the unfortunate issue of which was generally foreseen, was used in time of peace between the two empires, and when France was not threatening war to Austria.

M. de Metternich, who had instructions from his court, gave no satisfactory explanation of those circumstances to Napoleon, who instantly raised a conscription, and brought soldiers from Spain into Germany.

It was necessary, also, to come to an understanding with Russia, who, being engaged with her wars in Finland and Turkey, appeared desirous neither to enter into alliance with Austria, nor to afford her support. What, in fact, was the Emperor Alexander's situation with respect to France? He had signed a treaty of peace at Tilsit, which he felt had been forced upon him; and he knew that time alone would render it possible for him to take part in a contest which, it was evident, would again be renewed, either with Prussia or Austria.

Every person of common sense must have perceived that Austria, in taking up arms, reckoned, if not on the assistance, at least on the neutrality of Russia. Russia was then engaged with two enemies, the Swedes and the Turks, over whom she hoped to triumph. She, therefore, rejoiced to see France again engage in a struggle with Austria, and there was no doubt that she would take advantage of any chances favourable to the latter power, to join her in opposing the encroachments of France. I never could conceive how, under those circumstances, Napoleon could be so blind as to expect assistance from Russia in his quarrel with Austria. He must, indeed, have been greatly deceived as to the footing on which the two courts stood with reference to each other—their friendly footing, and their mutual agreement to oppose the overgrowing ambition of their common enemy.

The English, who had been compelled to quit Spain, now returned there. They landed in Portugal, which might be regarded as their own colony, and marched against Marshal Soult, who left Spain to meet them. Any other man than Soult would, perhaps, have been embarrassed by the obstacles which he had to surmount. A great deal has been said about his wish to make himself king of Portugal. Bernadotte told me, when he passed through Hamburg, that the matter had been the subject of much conversation at head-quarters, after the battle of

Wagram. Bernadotte placed no faith in the report, and I am pretty sure that Napoleon also disbelieved it. However, this matter is still involved in the obscurity from which it will only be drawn, when some person, acquainted with the intrigue, shall give a full explanation of it.*

Since I have, with reference to Soult, touched upon the subject of supposed ambition, I will mention here what I know of Murat's expectation of succeeding the emperor. When Romanzow returned from his useless mission of mediation to London, the emperor proceeded to Bayonne. Bernadotte, who had an agent in Paris, whom he paid highly, told me one day that he had received a despatch, informing him that Murat entertained the idea of one day succeeding the emperor. Sycophants, expecting to derive advantage from it, encouraged Murat in this chimerical hope. I know not whether Napoleon was acquainted with this circumstance, nor what he said of it; but Bernadotte spoke of it to me as a certain fact? It would, however, have been very wrong to attach great importance to an expression which, perhaps, escaped Murat in a moment of ardour, for his natural temperament sometimes betrayed him into acts of imprudence, the result of which, with a man like Napoleon, was always to be dreaded.

It was in the midst of the operations of the Spanish war, which Napoleon directed in person, that he learned Austria had, for the first time, raised the landwehre. I obtained some very

* "Certain rumours reached Schonbrunn, which led to the belief that some extraordinary circumstances had taken place in Portugal, where, it was imagined, Marshal Soult aimed at the sovereignty: many versions of such a story have undoubtedly been reported. A few appeared to merit attention, because the emperor's cause was generally supposed to be desperate after the battle of Essling, and because the Grand Duke of Berg having become King of Naples, as a reward for glorious feats of arms, it might be supposed that the officers of the same rank were of a no less ambitious character. The emperor treated the whole matter as mere folly; the rumour appeared to him quite absurd, and he laughed heartily at it. Nevertheless, he wrote to Marshal Soult, *that he only retained a recollection of Austerlitz*, because his name had been too often mentioned in the emperor's hearing for the marshal to suppose that his sovereign had been wholly ignorant of the rumours; and he would therefore have felt uneasy at the emperor's silence.

"The emperor never harboured a feeling of resentment against any one on the occasion to which I allude; though he certainly had the reports inquired into, the origin of which was never accurately known; he alone could have grounds for his opinion; but I never heard him advert to the subject. I have ever since had an impression upon my mind that he really bestowed more attention to those rumours than we had at first imagined, and that they were mainly instrumental in making him determine to bring the war to a close with the least possible delay.

"The inquiries into this business were followed by proceedings against an officer of dragoons, who was convicted of having frequently repaired to the English army in a clandestine manner. He alleged in his defence that he had been sent there; but as he could not exhibit any proof of the allegation, he was treated as a deserter, and underwent the punishment decreed against persons guilty of that crime."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (*Editor.*)

curious documents respecting the armaments of Austria, from the editor of the Hamburg Correspondent. This paper, the circulation of which amounted to not less than sixty thousand, paid considerable sums to persons in different parts of Europe, who were able and willing to furnish the current news. The Correspondent paid sixty thousand francs a year to a clerk in the war department at Vienna, and it was this clerk who supplied the intelligence that Austria was preparing for war, and that orders had been issued, in all directions, to collect and put in motion, all the resources of that powerful monarchy. I communicated these particulars to the French government, and suggested the necessity of increased vigilance and measures of defence. Preceding aggressions, especially that of 1805, were not to be forgotten. Similar information probably reached the French government from many quarters. Be that as it may, the emperor consigned the military operations in Spain to his generals, and departed for Paris, where he arrived at the end of January, 1809. He had been in Spain only since the beginning of November, 1808,* and his presence there had again rendered

* It was on the 8th of August, exactly three months before Bonaparte's entrance into Spain, that Sir Arthur Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington), effected his landing in the bay of Mondego, and began his march upon Lisbon. On the 17th, the French under General Laborde, had the first taste of the Wellington bayonets at Roriça, from which strong position they were driven with great loss. On the 21st, the British beat the whole French army at Vimiero, and shut up Junot, the Duke of Abrantes, in Lisbon. On the next day a man of sadly inferior capacity, Sir Harry Burrard, took the command out of Wellington's hands. Sir Harry had just time to commit *a few* capital mistakes, for the next day he was superseded in his turn by Sir Hew Dalrymple, who, on the 30th of the same month, notwithstanding that the Portuguese were arming on all sides, and that Sir John Moore had arrived off the coast with a reinforcement of 10,000, concluded the so called "Convention of Cintra," by which Junot and his army were allowed quietly to depart for France, and to carry all their plunder with them. As if every thing connected with this absurd transaction was doomed to be a blunder, we called it the Convention *of Cintra*, though it was concluded at another place, nearly thirty miles form Cintra!

The successes obtained by Napoleon during his stay of about three months in Spain, were certainly very great, and mainly resulted from his own masterly genius and lightning-like rapidity. The Spanish armies, as yet unsupported by British troops, were defeated at Gomenal, Espinosa, Reynosa, Tudela, and at the pass of the Somosierra mountains; and at an early hour of the morning of the 4th of December, Madrid surrendered. On the 20th of December, Bonaparte marched with far superior forces against the unfortunate Sir John Moore, who had been sent to advance into Spain both by the wrong route, *and at a wrong time*. On the 29th, from the heights of Benevento, his eyes were delighted by seeing the English in full retreat. But a blow struck him from another quarter, and leaving Soult to follow up Moore, he took the road to Paris.

On January 16th, 1809, was fought the battle of Corunna, the results of which were the defeat, or complete checking of Soult, the death of the gallant Moore, and the safe embarkment of the British troops. "It excited universal surprise," says Mr. Lockhart, "that the emperor did not immediately return from Benevento to Madrid, to complete and consolidate his Spanish conquest. He, however, proceeded, not towards Madrid, but Paris, and this with his utmost speed, riding on post-horses on one occasion, not less than seventy-five

our banners victorious. But though the insurgent troops were beaten, the inhabitants showed themselves more and more unfavourable to Joseph's cause; and it did not appear very probable, that he could ever seat himself tranquilly on the throne of Madrid.

Before I relate what I know respecting the German campaign, which was about to commence, I must refer back to one of the most important events preceding it. When I spoke of the interview at Erfurt, I quoted a rather ambiguous letter, transmitted from the Emperor Francis to Napoleon, by Baron Vincent. The answer to this letter seemed to be dictated by a sort of foresight of the events of 1809. It was in the following terms:

SIRE, MY BROTHER,

I thank your Royal and Imperial Majesty for the letter you have been so good as to write me, and which Baron Vincent delivered, I never doubted the upright intentions of your Majesty, but I nevertheless feared for a moment that hostilities would be renewed between us. There is, at Vienna, a faction which affects alarm in order to drive your cabinet to violent measures, which would entail misfortunes greater than those that are past. I had it in my power to dismember your Majesty's monarchy, or at least to diminish its power. I did not do so. It exists as it is by my consent. This is a plain proof that our accounts are settled; that I have no desire to injure you. I am always ready to guarantee the integrity of your monarchy: I will never do any thing adverse to the important interests of states. But your Majesty ought not to bring again under discussion what has been settled by a fifteen years' war. You ought to avoid every proclamation or act calculated to excite dissension. The last levy, in mass, might have provoked war if I had apprehended that the levy and preparations were made in conjunction with Russia. I have just disbanded the camp of the Confederation. I have sent a hundred thousand men to Boulogne to renew my projects against England. I had reason to believe when I had the happiness of seeing your Majesty, and had concluded the treaty of Presburg, that our disputes were terminated for ever, and that I might undertake the maritime war without interruption. I heseech your Majesty to distrust those who, by speaking of the dangers of the monarchy, disturb your happiness, and that of your family and people. Those persons alone are dangerous: they create the dangers they pretend to fear. By a straightforward, plain, and ingenuous line of conduct, your Majesty will render your people happy, will secure to yourself that tranquillity of which you must stand in need after so many troubles, and will be sure of finding me determined to do nothing hostile to your important interests. Let your conduct bespeak confidence, and you will inspire it. The best policy at the present time is, simplicity and truth. Confide your troubles to me when you have any, and I will

English miles in five hours and a half. The cause of this sudden change of purpose and extraordinary haste, was a sufficient one, and it ere long transpired." The cause was this: Austria had armed, and was on the point of declaring that war which broke out three months later.—*Editor.*

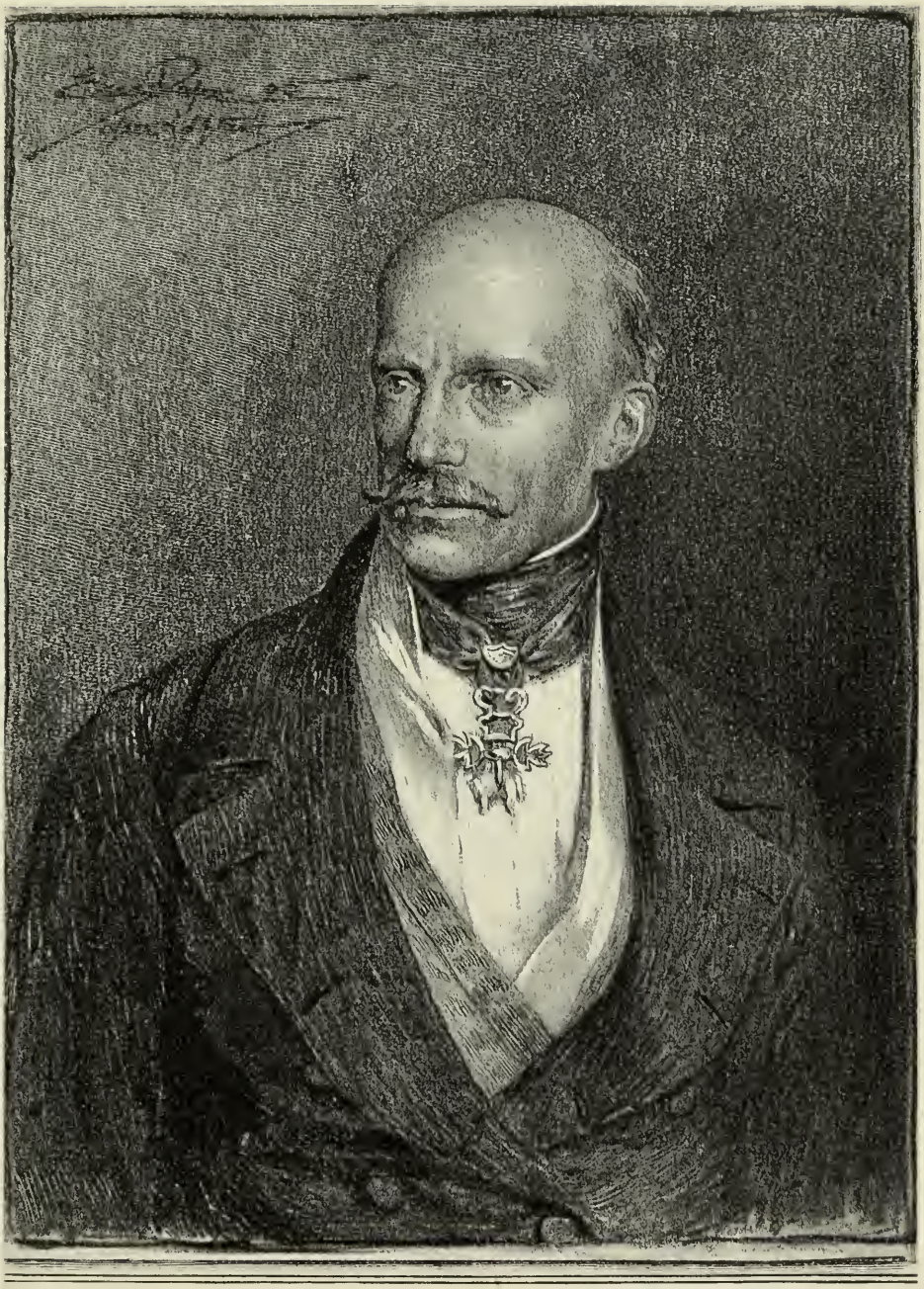
instantly banish them. Allow me to make one observation more—listen to your own judgment—your own feelings—they are much more correct than those of your advisers, I beseech your Majesty to read my letter in the spirit in which it is written, and to see nothing in it inconsistent with the welfare and tranquillity of Europe and your Majesty.

As soon as I read Napoleon's letter, I had no doubt that a new war would soon ensue between France and Austria. The love of superiority assumed by Napoleon, as if he had been writing to one of the princes subject to his Confederation of the Rhine, was, indeed, of a nature to irritate the wounded pride of the heir of the Cæsars. The cabinet of Vienna was also attacked in a manner calculated to irritate all its members against Napoleon; and then illusion, that last resource of misfortune, appeared in a seducing form to the eyes of Austria. Because she had been conquered once, it did not follow that she should be conquered again. She might recover what she had lost; and the war which Napoleon was obliged to maintain, at a great expenditure of men and money, in the Spanish Peninsula, gave her chances of success which she had not possessed on the former occasion, when England alone was at war with France, and when, above all, England had not, as she had at that moment, a part of Europe where she could employ her land-forces against the power of Napoleon.

Francis, notwithstanding the instigations of his counsellors, hesitated about taking the first step; but at length, yielding to the open solicitations of England, and the secret insinuations of Russia, and, above all, seduced by the subsidies of Great Britain, he declared hostilities, not at first against France, but against her allies of the Confederation of the Rhine. On the 9th of April, Prince Charles, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops, addressed a note to the commander-in-chief of the French army in Bavaria. It was in the following terms:

> In conformity with a declaration made by his Majesty the Emperor of Austria to the Emperor Napoleon, I hereby apprize the general-in-chief of the French army that I have orders to advance with my troops and to treat as enemies all who oppose me.

A courier carried a copy of this declaration to Strasburg with the utmost expedition, from whence it was transmitted by telegraph to Paris. The emperor surprised but not disconcerted by this intelligence, received it at Saint-Cloud on the 11th of April, and two hours after he was on the road to Germany. The complexity of affairs in which he was then involved seemed to give a new impulse to his activity. When he reached the army, neither his troops nor his guard had been able to come up; and under those circumstances, he placed himself at the head of the Bavarian troops, and, as it were, adopted the soldiers



WN BY ERIC PAPE. FROM A PRINT IN THE COURT LIBRARY, VIENN

ARCHDUKE JOHN OF AUSTRIA.

of Maximilian. Six days after his departure from Paris, the army of Prince Charles, which had passed the Inn, was threatened. The emperor's head-quarters were at Donawerth; and from thence he addressed to his soldiers one of those energetic and concise proclamations which made them perform so many prodigies, and which was soon circulated in every language by the public journals. This complication of events could not but be fatal to Europe and France, whatever might be its result; but it presented an opportunity favourable to the development af the emperor's genius. Like his favourite poet Ossian, who loved best to touch his lyre midst the howlings of the tempest, Napoleon required political tempests for the display of his abilities.

During the campaign of 1809, and particularly at its commencement, Napoleon's course was even more rapid than it had been in the campaign of 1805.* Every courier who arrived at

* The exertions made by Austria for the campaign of 1809, were prodigious. In spite of all her recent reverses, she put under arms a larger force than she had ever done before. This army, including the reserve, amounted to 550,000 men. The Archduke Charles was generalissimo, and commanded in Germany; the Archduke Ferdinand was stationed in Galicia to oppose the Russians in case they should move in favour of Bonaparte, to whom the Emperor Alexander was bound by treaties, and the Archduke John marched with 60,000 men by the passes of Carinthia and Carniola into Upper Italy, which, at one moment he was near reconquering from the French. It was during this campaign of the Archduke John—a campaign which began most brilliantly, that the Tyrol, which had been detached from Austria, and given to Bavaria by Bonaparte, made a glorious effort for the recovery of its independence. In the words of Carlo Botta,

"The Archduke John had scarcely approached when the Tyrolese, animated with one soul, and a universal ardour, suddenly rose up in arms and fell upon the French and Bavarian troops that garrisoned their country. They chose for their leader one Andrew Hofer, an inn-keeper at Sand, in the valley of Passeira. Andrew had none of those eminent qualities that dazzle the world, but he was a man of upright mind and incorruptible integrity. Having always lived in the solitudes of the Tyrolean mountains, he was ignorant of vice and its temptations. While people of the highest quality in Italy as well as in France, were deluded by the flattering promises of Napoleon, this poor mountain inn-keeper persevered in his innocent mode of life, and saw things more correctly. In men of this stamp there are generally two sentiments deeply enrooted,—the love of God, and the love of their country. Both these qualities shone conspicuously in Andrew Hofer, and for these the Tyrolese had a singular love and veneration for him .... Attached to their old master, the Emperor of Austria, and detesting the new government imposed upon them, at a signal from Hofer, men and women, children and aged people rose up in a mass, and issuing from the deepest valleys, or descending from the loftiest mountains, threw themselves suddenly upon the French and Bavarians. Assaulted nearly at the same moment, at Sterching, Inspruck, Hall, and the convent of Saint Charles, the Bavarians could not maintain themselves, and after suffering a great loss in killed and wounded, they laid down their arms. They were about 10,000 soldiers that thus surrendered to the peasants of the Tyrol. Nor did another corps of 3000 soldiers meet with better fortune, and all the squadrons and battalions that followed these were beaten in succession by the insurgents. In no place, and at no hour were the troops safe from attack, because from every side, and by night as well as by day, the Tyrolese

Hamburg brought us news, or rather prodigies. As soon as the emperor was informed of the attack made by the Austrians upon Bavaria, orders were despatched to all the generals having troops under their command, to proceed with all speed to the theatre of the war. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo was summoned to join the grand army with the Saxon troops under his command, and for the time he resigned the government of the Hanse Towns. Colonel Damas succeeded him at Hamburg during that period, but merely as commandant of the fortress, and he never gave rise to any murmur or complaint. Bernadotte was not satisfied with his situation, and indeed the emperor, who was never much disposed to bring him forward, because he could not forgive him for his opposition on the 18th Brumaire, always appointed him to posts in which but little glory was to be acquired, and placed as few troops as possible under his command.

I shall not enter into any longer details respecting the second campaign of Vienna, than I did respecting the first, and the campaign of Tilsit. I will confine myself, as before, to repeating from recollection, the information which I obtained at Hamburg, where my functions always became more delicate whenever any new event occurred in Germany. I can declare, that in 1809 it required all the promptitude of the emperor's march upon Vienna to defeat the plots which were brewing against his government; for in the event of his arms being unsuccessful, the blow was ready to be struck. The English force in the north of Germany amounted to about ten thousand men. The Archduke Charles had formed the project of concentrating in the middle of Germany a large body of troops, consisting of the corps of Generals Am Eude, of General Radizwowitz, and of the English, with whom were to be joined the people who were expected to

sallying out from their hiding-places, and travelling by strange mountain-paths, like men perfectly well acquainted with the country, they chose their time, and unexpectedly crushed the incautious soldiery. This was a singular and a terrible warfare. To the rumour of arms were added the continual tolling of all the church bells, and the shouting of the peasants, who exclaimed incessantly, 'In the name of God! In the name of the most Holy Trinity!' All these noises united, and repeated by the echoes of the Alps, produced a confusion, full of horror, terror, and religion."—*Storia d'Italia.*

In consequence of the sad disasters of the Austrians in Germany, the Tyrolese peasants, who had never been properly supported, were eventually obliged to submit, and their great leader, Andrew Hofer, after a disgraceful court martial, was shot by the French. But Napoleon lost many thousands of his best troops in this war.

The Archduke John gave a sound beating to Eugene Beauharnais, then Viceroy of Italy, and took possession of Padua, Vicenza, and other cities; but, in consequence of Bonaparte's victories in Germany, he was obliged to retrace his steps, and being followed up by the reinforced Beauharnais into Hungary, he was defeated in a great battle near the town of Raab.

The spirit of the Austrian army at the opening of the campaign of 1809, was excellent, but great reverses followed great mistakes, and both officers and men became despondent.—*Editor.*

L'ESPRIT DE KATTE BONNE

THE TAKING OF KATTE BONNE

TAKING OF RATISBON.

On the 24th of April, 1809, Napoleon compelled the Austrians to fall back to Ratisbon. The Archduke Charles gave orders that the city should hold out till night, when the general and his troops were to retire. Being surrounded by a wall, with the additional protection of a moat and counterscarp, the town was sufficiently fortified to maintain its defence until that time, had not an accidental discovery favoured the enemy. Scarcely had they arrived at the edge of the moat when some French officers observed a breach in the wall, and communicated their discovery to Marshal Lannes, who, with his usual impetuosity, seized a ladder and descended into the ditch, exclaiming to the battalion under his command, "I will shew you that your general is still a grenadier." With these words, he rushed through the breach into the city, followed by his soldiers, who threw open one of the gates. The French poured in at this opening, and ultimately drove the Austrians out of Ratisbon, taking much cannon, baggage, and prisoners which were left in their hands.

revolt. The English would have wished the Austrian troops to advance a little further. The English agent made some representations on this subject to M. Stadion, the Austrian minister; but the archduke preferred making a diversion to committing the safety of the monarchy, by departing from his present inactivity, and risking the passage of the Danube, in the face of an enemy who never suffered himself to be surprised, and who had calculated every possible event. In concerting his plan, the archduke expected that the Emperor of Austria would either detach a strong force to assist his allies, or that he would abandon them to their own defence. In the first case, the archduke would have had a great superiority, and in the second, all was prepared in Hesse and in Hanover, to rise on the approach of the Austrian and English armies.

At the commencement of July, the English advanced upon Cuxhaven, with a dozen small ships of war. They landed four or five hundred sailors, and about fifty marines, and planted a standard on one of the outworks. The day after this landing at Cuxhaven, the English, who were in Denmark, evacuated Copenhagen, after destroying a battery which they had erected there. On quitting Cuxhaven, they arrested M. Desarts, who was an agent of the consulate of Hamburg. All the plots of England were fruitless on the continent; for with the emperor's new system of war, which consisted in making a push on the capitals, he soon obtained negotiations for peace. He was master of Vienna before England had even organized the expedition to which I have just alluded. He left Paris on the 11th of April, was at Donawerth on the 17th, and on the 23d he was master of Ratisbon. In the engagement, which preceded his entrance into that town, Napoleon received a slight wound in the heel. He, nevertheless, remained on the field of battle. It was also between Donawerth and Ratisbon, that Davoust, by a bold manœuvre, gained and merited the title of Prince of Eckmuhl.*

At this period, fortune was not only bent on favouring Napoleon's arms, but she seemed to take pleasure in realizing even his boasting predictions; for the French troops entered Vienna within a month after a proclamation issued by Napoleon at Ratisbon, in which he said he would be master of the Austrian capital in that time.†

But while he was thus marching from triumph to triumph, the people of Hamburg and the neighbouring countries, had a

* The great battle of Eckmuhl, where 100,000 Austrians were driven from all their positions, was fought on the 22d of April.—*Editor.*

† The reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter for a brief description of the battle of Essling or Esslingen, which preceded Napoleon's second occupation of Vienna, and at which Marshal Lannes received the wound of which he shortly afterwards died. Savary's account of the death of Lannes is also subjoined.—*Editor.*

neighbour who did not leave them altogether without inquietude. The famous Prussian partisan, Major Schill, after pursuing his system of plunder in Westphalia, came and threw himself upon Mecklenburg, whence, I understood, it was his intention to surprise Hamburg. At the head of six hundred well-mounted hussars, and between fifteen hundred and two thousand infantry badly armed, he took possession of the little fort of Domitz, in Mecklenburg, on the 15th of May, from whence he despatched parties, who levied contributions on both banks of the Elbe. Schill inspired terror wherever he went. On the 19th of May, a detachment of thirty men belonging to Schill's corps entered Wismar. It was commanded by Count Moleke, who had formerly been in the Prussian service, and who had retired to his estate in Mecklenburg, where the duke had kindly given him an appointment. Forgetting his duty to his benefactor, he sent to summon the duke to surrender Stralsund. Alarmed at the progress of the partisan Schill, the Duke of Mecklenburg and his court quitted Ludwigsburg, their regular residence, and retired to Doberan, on the sea-coast. On quitting Mecklenburg, Schill advanced to Bergdorf, four leagues from Hamburg. The alarm then increased in that city. A few of the inhabitants talked of making a compromise with Schill, and sending him money to get him away. But the firmness of the majority imposed silence on this timid council. I consulted with the commandant of the town, and we determined to adopt measures of precaution. The custom-house chest, in which there was more than a million of gold, was sent to Holstein under a strong escort. At the same time I sent to Schill a clever spy, who gave him a most alarming account of the means of defence which Hamburg possessed. Schill accordingly gave up his designs on that city, and leaving it on his left, entered Lubeck, which was undefended.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant-General Gratien, who had left Berlin by order of the Prince de Neufchatel, with two thousand five hundred Dutch, and three thousand Swedish troops, actively pursued Schill, and tranquillity was soon restored throughout all the neighbouring country, which had been greatly agitated by his bold enterprise. Schill, after wandering for some days on the shores of the Baltic, was overtaken by General Gratien, at Stralsund, whence he was about to embark for Sweden. He made a desperate defence, and was killed, after a conflict of two hours. His band was destroyed. Three hundred of his hussars, and two hundred infantry, who had effected their escape, asked leave to return to Prussia, and they were conducted to the Prussian general commanding a neighbouring town. A war of plunder, like that carried on by Schill, could not be honourably acknowledged by a power having any claim to respect. Yet, the English government sent Schill a colonel's commission, and the full uniform of his new rank, with the assurance that all his troops should thenceforth be paid by England.

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY TITO MARZOCCHI, AFTER CLAUDE GAUTHEROT, IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES. ENGRAVED BY R. A. MULLER.

LOUIS-NICOLAS DAVOUT, DUKE OF AUERSTÄDT, PRINCE OF ECKMÜHL.

Gautherot

NAPOLÉON BLESSÉ DEVANT RATISBONNE

NAPOLEON WOUNDED BEFORE RATISBON

NAPOLEON WOUNDED BEFORE RATISBON.

In the space of five days, Napoleon frustrated the efforts of the Austrians, with whom were allied, perhaps, the greater part of Germany; and a defensive war upon their own territory seemed now to be their only resource.

At the battle of Eckmulh, the French took 1500 prisoners, and sixteen pieces of cannon; and the Austrian army lost nearly 5000 men, killed or wounded; while the loss of the French and their allies amounted to about 2000 men, killed and wounded, of nearly equal proportions.

Napoleon was wounded in the right foot, at Ratisbon. He expressed his su.prise at the dexterous management of the enemy's gun, which had reached him, though seated upon a little hillock beyond the range of their fire. Too impatient to allow sufficient time for the dressing of the wound, he mounted his horse in haste, and restored the confidence of the army, which had been somewhat staggered at this disaster, by riding among the lines.—*April* 23, 1809.

C. Langlois.

BATAILLE D'ESSLING.

BATTLE OF ESSLING AND ASPERNE.

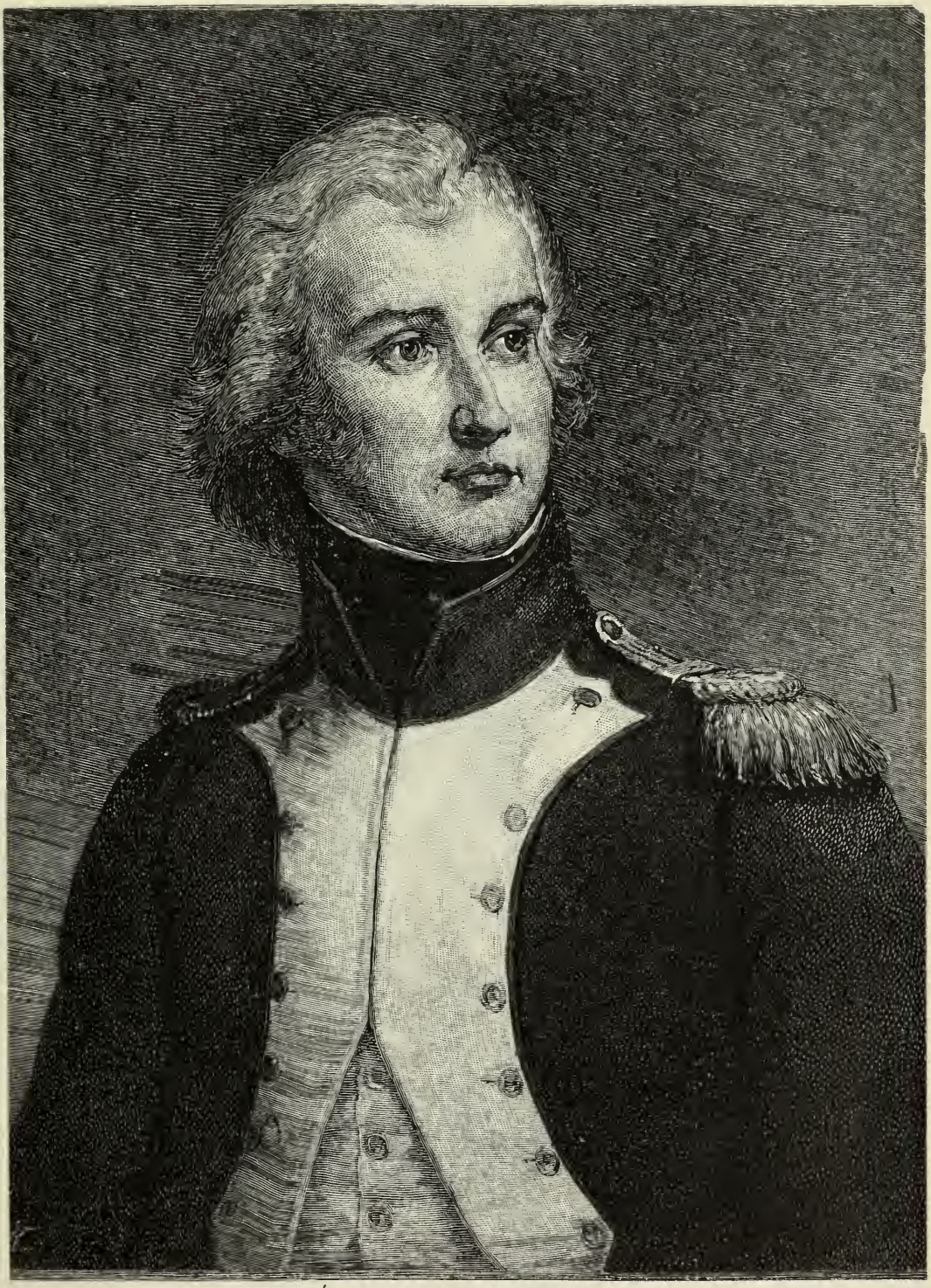
On the 19th of May, 1809, Napoleon took possession of the villages of Asperne and Essling, with so little apparent opposition, that it was evident the Archduke wished the unavoidable battle to take place with the river between his enemy and Vienna.

On the 21st of May, at day break, the Archduke Charles appeared on a rising ground, separated by a considerable tract of land from the French, whose army consisted of 20,000 men. The Austrians commenced by a furious assault on the village of Asperne, which was taken and re-taken several times. Essling was also attacked three times; but there the French retained entire possession.

Night interrupted the action; the Austrians exulting in their partial success. On the re-commencement of the battle on the following morning the French recovered the church of Asperne. The right wing of the Austrians renewed their assaults with increased energy on that point. Napoleon seeing them in such numbers, judged that the centre and left had been reduced, in order to strengthen the right wing, and instantly moved an immense body on the Austrian centre, so as to shake the Archduke's line, and for a few minutes victory seemed secure. From this time the battle continued with varied success; the Austrians at length succeeded in destroying the bridge connecting the island of Lobau with the right bank. On this Napoleon fell back on Lobau; when the Austrians perceiving their backward movement, recovered their order and zeal, charged in turn, and finally made themselves masters of Asperne.

Napoleon driven back, and cooped up in Lobau, took advantage of the cessation of warfare to prepare for a future engagement.

In this sanguinary battle perished two heroes, the best friends of Napoleon, Lannes and St. Hilaire.



OM THE PAINTING BY JEAN-BAPTISTE-PAULIN GUÉRIN, IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES. ENGRAVED BY G. KRUELL

MARSHAL JEAN LANNES, DUKE OF MONTEBELLO.

DEFENSE OF THE GRANARY AT ESSLING.

Schill soon had an imitator of exalted rank; in 1809, the Duke of Brunswick-Œls sought the dangerous honour of succeeding that famous partisan. At the head of two thousand men at most, he for some days disturbed the left bank of the Elbe, and on the 5th entered Bremen. On his approach, the French vice-consul retired to Osterhulz. One of the duke's officers presented himself at the house of the vice-consul, and demanded two hundred louis. The agent of the vice-consul, alarmed at the threat of the place being given up to pillage, capitulated with the officer, and with considerable difficulty got rid of him at the sacrifice of eighty louis, for which a receipt was presented to him in the name of the duke. The duke, who now went by the name of the new Schill, did not remain long in Bremen. Wishing to repair with all possible speed to Holland, he left Bremen on the evening of the 6th, and proceeded to Delmenhorst, where his advanced guard had already arrived. The Westphalian troops, commanded by Reubell, entered Bremen on the 7th, and not finding the Duke of Brunswick, immediately marched in pursuit of him. The Danish troops, who occupied Cuxhaven, received orders to proceed to Bremerlehe, to favour the operations of the Westphalians and the Dutch. Meanwhile, the English approached Cuxhaven, where they landed three or four thousand men. The persons in charge of the custom-house establishment, and the few sailors who were in Cuxhaven, fell back upon Hamburg. The Duke of Brunswick, still pursued, crossed Germany from the frontiers of Bohemia to Elsfleth, a little port on the left bank of the Weser, where he arrived on the 7th, being one day in advance of his pursuers. He immediately took possession of all the transports at Elsfleth, and embarked for Heligoland.

The landing, which the English effected at Cuxhaven, while the Danes, who garrisoned that port, were occupied in pursuing the Duke of Brunswick, was attended by no result. After the escape of the duke, the Danes returned to their post, which the English immediately evacuated.

THE BATTLE OF ESSLINGEN.

"Prince Berthier sent me orders to rejoin the army. The emperor was already with it; I found him at Landshut, just after he had gained the battle of Ratisbon.

"We marched on Vienna. The emperor became more good-humoured, and treated me more kindly. The battle of Esslingen took place. Thousands of brave men lost their lives; Marshal Lannes received his mortal wound; the cavalry and artillery were destroyed; and the village of Esslingen, the most important point that remained

for us to defend, was inundated by twenty battalions of Hungarian grenadiers. We could no longer maintain our station: the enemy had already penetrated into the square-work which Napoleon had directed to be fortified the day before. Count Lobau advanced to meet them, and checked their progress; but they immediately received reinforcements. The emperor perceived this, and I was directed to take two battalions of the young guard, and to hasten to the assistance of our troops: I was to disengage them, to effect a retreat with them, and to take a position between the village and the remainder of the guard, on the banks of the Danube, near the bridge which had been broken. The Austrian columns advanced from all quarters on this point: our position became most hazardous. On our left, Masséna still occupied Gros Aspern; he had lost great numbers of his force, but he still maintained his ground. I placed myself at the head of my two battalions, and entered the village. I drew up my troops in the rear of General Mouton, and went to deliver to him the emperor's orders; but the whole of the enemy's reserve, under the command of the Archduke Charles, deployed at some distance. 'You have,' said I to Count Lobau, 'astonished those masses by your resistance; let us charge them with the bayonet, and drive them back upon the columns that are advancing: if we succeed, the emperor and the army will give us credit for our success; if we fail, the responsibility will rest with me.'—'With both of us,' replied the general. Our five battalions moved forward, charged, repulsed, and dispersed the enemy at the point of the bayonet. We were masters of the village. The archduke endeavoured in vain to recover it; five times he led his troops to the charge, and five times he was defeated. He experienced immense loss: ours was also considerable. Generals Mouton and Grosse were wounded; several other officers were killed. Napoleon was delighted with this affair; he complimented me very highly, and added, 'If ever you did well in not executing my orders, you have done so to-day; for the safety of the army depended on the taking of Esslingen.'"—*Rapp's Memoirs.*

DEATH OF MARSHAL LANNES.

"Marshal Lannes having returned to the position he had quitted in the morning for the purpose of attacking the enemy, used his utmost endeavours to preserve it, and dismounted, owing to the proximity of the fire of the enemy's artillery, which made it hazardous to remain on horseback; the cavalry had crossed over long before, and was stationed in the island of Lobau. The emperor himself had quitted the field of battle, after issuing his final orders in respect to recrossing the bridge; and he was engaged in pointing some artillery in the island of Lobau, for the purpose of protecting the retreat of our columns, when intelligence was brought to him that Marshal Lannes had just had his legs carried off by a cannon-shot. He was affected to tears at the news; and at the moment he was listening to the particulars of that sad event, he perceived a litter coming from the field of battle with Marshal Lannes stretched upon it. He ordered him to be carried to a retired spot, where they might be alone and

FROM THE PAINTING BY E. BOUTIGNY.

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY THE ARTIST.

ENGRAVED BY W. B. CLC

NAPOLEON AND MARSHAL LANNES AT ESSLING.

MORT DU DUC DE MONTEBELLO

THE DUKE OF MONTEBELLO'S DEATH

DEATH OF MONTEBELLO.

Lannes was born at Lectour, in 1769, of a poor and obscure family. He joined the Republican army, and made his first campaign in the Eastern Pyrenees. "*Il était alors un pigmée, il devint un géant plus tard.*" Napoleon so said of the hero who was attached to him alike in his good and in his adverse fortune.

A Colonel in 1795, he followed Buonaparte in Italy, where he distinguished himself in the battles of Millesimo, Lodi, and Arcola. He was Brigadier-General at Pavia, where he took two of the enemy's flags. He was opposed to the Papal troops, which he beat at Immola. He then accompanied Napoleon into Egypt, where he was named General of a division. At Aboukir, he exhibited uncommon intrepidity. He returned with him to France, and took an active part in the occurrences of the 18th Brumaire. He again signalized himself at Marengo, and at the battle of Montebello, in 1804; where he was created a Peer by the title of Duke of Montebello, having already received a Marshal's baton. From that time he continued to take an active part in various campaigns, and commanded at the siege of Saragoza, in 1809.

His last campaign was not the least glorious of his military career. At the battle of Essling, 22d of May, 1809, he was mortally wounded at the very moment he was shewing to the troops a wonderful example of firmness and heroic courage.

Napoleon sent his body to Paris, where the greatest funereal honours were paid to the remains of this faithful and unfortunate companion of his glory.

THE DEATH OF MARSHAL LANNES.

London: Published by Richard Bentley. 1836.
Samuel Bentley, Printer.

uninterrupted. With his face bathed in tears, he approached and embraced his dying friend. Exhausted by the great loss of blood, Marshal Lannes said to him, in broken accents, 'Farewell, Sire; spare a life dear to all; and bestow a passing thought upon the memory of one of your best friends, who in two hours will be no more!' This deeply affecting scene created in the emperor a powerful emotion. General Saint-Hilaire had a short time before been brought back wounded in the foot by a cannon-ball; he died of the wound a fortnight afterwards. The loss of Marshal Lannes was felt by the whole army, and completed the disasters of that fatal day." * * *

During the emperor's stay at Ebersdorf he went every day at noon to visit Marshal Lannes, who could not be removed to a greater distance than one of the houses of the village. Having received one day a message that the marshal was desirous to see him, he hastened to the spot. A delirious fever had come upon that unfortunate general, whose spirits, however, revived when he beheld the emperor. He had dreamed that an attempt was made upon his life; and said to him, that being unable to walk, he had sent to request he would come to defend him. The emperor was deeply afflicted at seeing the marshal in this state. The medical men requested him to withdraw, because the patient's case was desperate; and he returned home in great distress of mind. Two hours afterwards, he was again told that Marshal Lannes wished to bid him farewell; he immediately went to see him; but on his arrival, M. Yvan, the doctor in attendance, came up to inform him that the patient had expired a few minutes before. In Marshal Lannes we lost one of the most gallant men our armies could at any time boast of. His life was too short for his friends; but his career of honour and glory was without a parallel."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

The wife of Lannes was a beautiful and accomplished woman, and devotedly attached to her husband. Mademoiselle d'Avrillion, who knew her well, relates the following affecting incidents:

"It was during this journey we learnt that Marshal Lannes had both his legs shot off. When this fatal news reached Paris, his wife instantly set off, with the fond hope of still seeing her husband alive. On passing through Strasburg, where I was with the Empress Josephine, Madame Lannes was so eager to arrive at the place of her destination, that she would not come to the palace, on which the empress went to pay her a visit at the inn where she had put up for a few hours. Alas! in spite of all the haste she made, she arrived too late, or, rather, she did not arrive at all: a courier, who met her on the road, gave the fatal news that *he was no more;* and she returned slowly back to Paris."—*Mémoires,* tome ii.

According to Mademoiselle, on starting for the campaign, Lannes, who had never known what fear was, had a strong presentiment that he should die in it.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XII.

1809.

The castle of Diernstein—Richard Cœur de Lion and Marshal Lannes—The emperor at the gates of Vienna—The Archduchess Maria Louisa—Proclamations and bulletins—Facility of correspondence with England—Smuggling in Hamburg—Brown sugar and sand—Hearses filled with sugar and coffee—Embargo on the publication of news—Supervision of the Hamburg Correspondent—Festival of St. Napoleon—Ecclesiastical adulation—The King of Westphalia's journey through his states—Attempt to raise a loan—Jerome's present to me—The present returned—Bonaparte's unfounded suspicions.

Rapp, who, during the campaign of Vienna had resumed his duties as aide-de-camp, related to me one of those observations of Napoleon, which, when his words are compared with the events that followed them, seem to indicate a foresight into his future destiny. When within some days' march of Vienna, the emperor procured a guide to explain to him every village and ruin which he observed on the road. The guide pointed to an eminence on which were a few decayed vestiges of an old fortified castle: "Those," said the guide, "are the ruins of the castle of Diernstein." Napoleon suddenly stopped, and stood for some time silently contemplating the ruins, then turning to Lannes, who was with him, he said, "See! yonder is the prison of Richard Cœur de Lion. He, like us, went to Syria and Palestine. But, my brave Lannes, the Cœur de Lion was not braver than you. He was more fortunate than I at Saint-Jean d'Acre. A duke of Austria sold him to an emperor of Germany, who imprisoned him in that castle. Those were the days of barbarism. How different from the civilization of modern times! Europe has seen how I treated the Emperor of Austria, whom I might have made prisoner—and I would treat him so again. I claim no credit for this. In the present age crowned heads must be respected. A conqueror imprisoned!"—A few days after, the emperor was at the gates of Vienna; but on this occasion his access to the Austrian capital was not so easy as it had been rendered in 1805, by the ingenuity and courage of Lannes and Murat. The Archduke Maximilian, who was shut

NAPOLÉON AU TOMBEAU DE FRÉDÉRI

NAPOLEON AT THE TOMB OF FREDERIC

NAPOLEON AT THE TOMB OF FREDERIC THE GREAT.

The Court of Berlin had fled from Potsdam so precipitately that all the treasures, &c. which it contained were left for Napoleon and his army, who took possession on the 26th of October, 1809. Buonaparte visited Frederic's tomb; where he found his sword, sash, and the badges of several orders of knighthood. These he took, saying, that he preferred them to all the treasures of the King of Prussia; that he would send them to the old soldiers who had served in the Hanoverian campaign, and direct that they should be placed in the hospital, as memorials of the victories achieved by the grand army, and as evidence of the vengeance it had taken for the disasters of Rosbach.

up in the capital, wished to defend it, although the French army already occupied the principal suburbs. In vain were flags of truce sent one after the other to the archduke. They were not only dismissed unheard, but were even ill-treated, and one of them was almost killed by the populace. The city was then bombarded, and would speedily have been destroyed, but that the emperor being informed that one of the archduchesses remained in Vienna on account of ill-health, ordered the firing to cease. By a singular caprice of Napoleon's destiny, this archduchess was no other than Maria Louisa. Vienna at length opened her gates to Napoleon, who, for some days took up his residence at Schœnbrunn. He immediately addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he said,

"One month after the enemy passed the Inn, on the same day of the month, and at the same hour, we have entered Vienna. Her landwehres, her levies in mass, her ramparts created by the impotent fury of the princes of the house of Lorrain, have scarcely claimed your attention. The princes of that house have abandoned their capital, not like soldiers of honour yielding to the circumstances of war, but like perjurers, pursued by their own remorse. In flying from Vienna they bade farewell to the inhabitants by murder and conflagration. Like Medea, they have, with their own hands, slain their children.

Who would have believed, after the manner in which Napoleon alluded to the Emperor of Austria in this proclamation, that he would have closed the campaign with a proposal to marry his daughter? If it be said that I notice Napoleon's proclamations rather than his bulletins, the reason is this—his proclamations were founded on truth, with the exception of the prophecies, which were not always realized, like that of his entrance into Vienna. Their groundwork was the great historical events which had taken place before the eyes of the army to whom they were addressed; while his bulletins, which were destined to impose on the people of the interior of France and on foreign countries, too fully justified the proverb—"To lie like a bulletin."

The emperor was engaged in so many projects at once, that they could not all succeed. Thus, while he was triumphant in the hereditary states, his beloved continental system was experiencing severe checks. The trade with England on the coast of Oldenburg was carried on as uninterruptedly as if in time of peace. English letters and newspapers arrived on the continent, and those of the continent found their way into Great Britain, as if France and England had been united by ties of the firmest friendship. In short, things were just in the same state as if the decree for the blockade of the British isles had not existed. When the custom-house officers succeeded in seizing contraband goods, they were again taken from them by main force. On the 2d of July, a serious contest took place at Brinskham between the custom-house officers and a party of

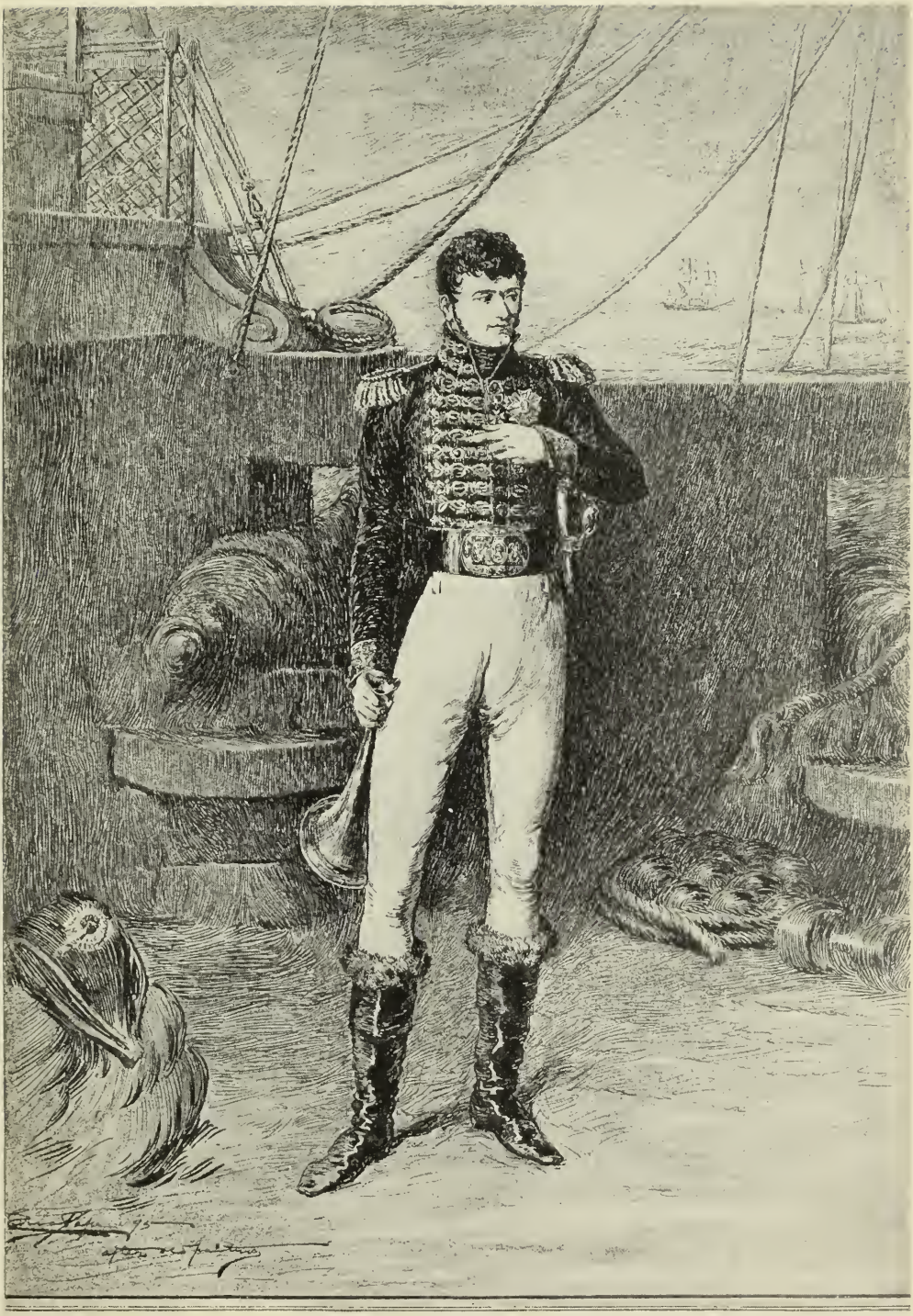
peasantry, in which the latter made themselves masters of eighteen waggons laden with English goods: many were wounded on both sides.

If, however, trade with England was carried on freely along a vast extent of coast, it was different in the city of Hamburg, where English goods were introduced only by fraud; and I verily believe that the art of smuggling, and the schemes of smugglers, were never before carried to such perfection. Above six thousand smugglers went backwards and forwards, about twenty times a day, from Altona to Hamburg, and they carried on their contraband trade by many ingenious stratagems, two of which were so curious that they are worth mentioning here.

On the left of the road leading from Hamburg to Altona, there was a piece of ground where pits were dug, for the purpose of procuring sand, used for building and for laying down in the streets. At this time it was proposed to repair the great street of Hamburg, leading to the gate of Altona. The smugglers overnight filled the sand-pit with brown sugar, and the little carts which usually conveyed the sand into Hamburg were filled with the sugar, care being taken to cover it with a layer of sand, about an inch thick. This trick was carried on for a length of time, but no progress was made in repairing the street; I complained greatly of the delay, even before I was aware of its cause; for the street led to a country-house I had near Altona, whither I went daily. The officers of the customs at length perceived that the work did not proceed, and one fine morning the sugar-carts were stopped and seized. Another expedient was then to be devised.

Between Hamburg and Altona there is a little suburb situated on the right bank of the Elbe. This suburb is inhabited by sailors, labourers of the port, and landowners. The inhabitants are interred in the cemetery of Hamburg. It was observed that funeral processions passed this way more frequently than usual. The custom-house officers amazed at the sudden mortality of the worthy inhabitants of the little suburb, insisted on searching one of the vehicles; and on opening the hearse, it was found to be filled with sugar, coffee, vanilla, indigo, &c. It was necessary to abandon this expedient, but others were soon discovered.

Bonaparte was sensitive, in an extraordinary degree, to all that was said and thought of him, and Heaven knows how many despatches I received from head-quarters during the campaign of Vienna, directing me not only to watch the vigilant execution of the custom-house laws, but to lay an embargo on a thing which alarmed him more than the introduction of British merchandise, viz., the publication of news. In conformity with these reiterated instructions, I directed especial attention to the management of the Correspondent. The importance of this journal, with its sixty thousand readers, may easily be perceived. I procured the insertion of every thing I thought desirable: all



SKETCH BY ERIC PAPE. FROM PORTRAIT BY AN UNKNOWN PAINTER IN THE HÔTEL-DE-VILLE, AJACCIO

JEROME BONAPARTE, KING OF WESTPHALIA, IN NAVAL COSTUME.

the bulletins, proclamations, acts of the French government, notes of the Moniteur, and the semi-official articles of the French journals: these were all given *in extenso.* On the other hand, I often suppressed adverse news, which, though well known, would have received additional weight from its insertion in so widely circulated a paper. If by chance there crept in some Austrian bulletin, extracted from the other German papers, published in the states of the Confederation of the Rhine, there was always given with it a suitable antidote, to destroy, or at least to mitigate, its ill effect. But this was not all. The King of Wirtemberg having reproached the Correspondent in a letter to the minister for foreign affairs, with publishing whatever Austria wished should be made known, and being conducted in a spirit hostile to the *good cause,* I answered these unjust reproaches, by making the syndic censor prohibit the Hamburg papers from inserting *any* Austrian order of the day, *any* archduke's bulletins, *any* letter from Prague; in short, any thing which should be copied from the other German journals, unless those articles had been inserted in the French journals.

My recollections of the year 1809 at Hamburg, carry me back to the celebration of Napoleon's fête, which was on the 15th of August; for he had interpolated his patron saint in the imperial calendar, at the date of his birth. The coincidence of this festival with the Assumption, gave rise to adulatory rodomontades, of the most absurd description. Certainly the episcopal circulars under the empire would form a curious collection.* Could any thing be more revolting than the sycophancy of those churchmen who declared that "God chose Napoleon for his representative upon earth, and that God created Bonaparte, and then rested; that he was more fortunate than Augustus, more virtuous than Trajan; that he deserved altars and temples to be raised to him! &c. &c."

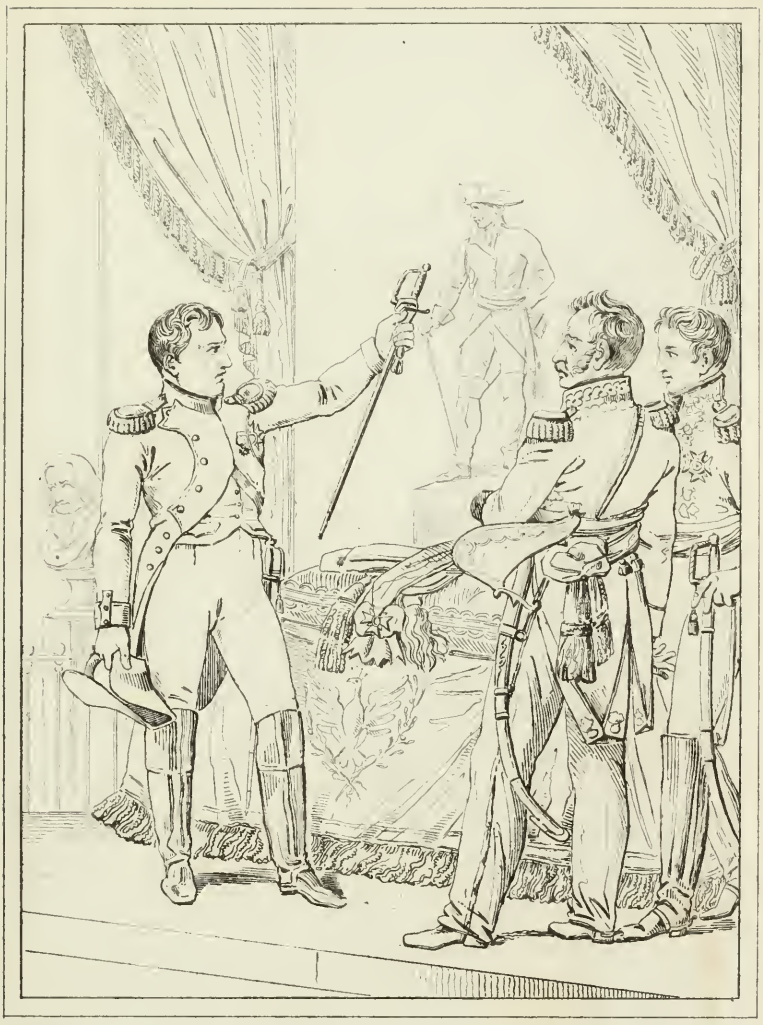
Sometime after the festival of St. Napoleon, the King of Westphalia made a journey through his states. Of all Napoleon's brothers, the King of Westphalia was the one with whom I was least acquainted, and he, it is pretty well known, was the most worthless of the family. His correspondence with me is limited to two letters, one of which he wrote while he commanded the Epervier, and another seven years after, dated 6th September, 1809. In this latter he said, "I shall be in Hanover on the 10th. If you can make it convenient to come there and spend a day with me, it will give me great pleasure. I shall

* It will perhaps scarcely be believed that the following words were actually delivered from the pulpit: "God in his mercy has chosen Napoleon to be his representative on earth. The Queen of Heaven has marked, by the most magnificent of presents, the anniversary of the day which witnessed her glorious entrance into her domains. Heavenly Virgin! as a special testimony of your love for the French, and your all-powerful influence with your son, you have connected the first of your solemnities with the birth of the great Napoleon. Heaven ordained that the hero should spring from your sepulchre."

then be able to smooth all obstacles to the loan I wish to contract in the Hanse Towns. I flatter myself you will do all in your power to forward that object, which, at the present crisis, is very important to my states. *More than ample security* is offered, but the money will be of no use to me if I cannot have it at *least for two years.*" Jerome wanted to contract at Hamburg, a loan of three millions of francs. However, the people did not seem to think like his Westphalian majesty, that the contract presented *more than ample security.* No one was found willing to draw his purse-strings, and the loan was never raised.

Though I would not, without the emperor's authority, exert the influence of my situation to further the success of Jerome's negotiation yet I did my best to assist him. I succeeded in prevailing on the senate to advance one loan of a hundred thousand francs, to pay a portion of the arrears due to his troops, and a second of two hundred thousand francs, to provide clothing for his army, &c. This scanty supply will cease to be wondered at, when it is considered to what a state of desolation the whole of Germany was reduced at the time.

As for Jerome, he returned to Cassel quite disheartened at the unsuccessful issue of his loan. Some days after his return to his capital, I received from him a snuff-box, with his portrait set in diamonds, accompanied by a letter of thanks for the service I had rendered him. I never imagined that a token of remembrance from a crowned head could possibly be declined. Napoleon, however, thought otherwise. I had not, it is true, written to acquaint our government with the King of Westphalia's loan, but in a letter, which I addressed to the minister for foreign affairs on the 22d of September, I mentioned the present Jerome had sent me. Why Napoleon should have been offended at this I know not, but I received orders to return Jerome's present immediately, and these orders were accompanied with bitter reproaches for my having accepted it without the emperor's authority. Knowing Bonaparte's distrustful disposition, I thought he must have suspected that Jerome had employed threats, or at any rate, that he had used some illegal influence to facilitate the success of his loan. At last, after much correspondence, Napoleon saw clearly that every thing was perfectly regular; in a word, that the business had been transacted as between two private persons. As to the three hundred thousand francs, which the senate had lent to Jerome, the fact is, that but little scruple was made about it, for this simple reason, that it was the means of removing from Hamburg the Westphalian division, whose presence occasioned a much greater expense than the loan.



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L ÉPÉE DU GRAND FRÉDERIC.

THE SWORD OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

THE SWORD OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

Marshal Davoust, and the third division entered Berlin. This honourable mission was the recompense for the glorious part which these brave troops had taken at the battle of Jena. A favour so simple, rivalling in that respect the oaken chaplet of the Romans, intoxicated the soldiers who received it, and they swore to be to the Emperor, what the tenth legion was to Cæsar.

He visited, with religious awe, the vault where the remains of Frederick were deposited in a coffin of cedar-wood, encased in another of brass, without ornament or pompous inscription. Napoleon forbid the passage of the colours, eagles, and cannon taken from the Prussians, over the place where the ashes of the illustrious monarch reposed;—he might think it would distress his shade, or be an insult to his tomb!

The memorable spoils, of which we have spoken in giving an account of Napoleon's visit to Frederick's grave, were received in Paris with transport, and deposited with much pomp in the Hotel of Invalids, under guard of his mutilated veterans. Amongst those were yet remaining 900 who had borne arms against Frederick, and they received with gratitude, presents, which renewed in their old age remembrances of the army and its immortal chief. Like the warriors of Sparta, they were proud of being surpassed by their children.

THE BATTLE OF WAGRAM.

CHAPTER XIII.

1809.

Visit to the field of Wagram—Union of the Papal states with the empire—The battle of Talaveira—Sir Arthur Wellesley—English expedition to Holland—Attempt to assassinate the emperor at Schœnbrunn—Staps interrogated by Napoleon—Pardon offered and rejected—Fanaticism and patriotism—Corvisart's examination of Staps — Second interrogatory — Tirade against the illuminati—Accusation of the courts of Berlin and Weimar—Firmness and resignation of Staps — Particulars respecting his death — Influence of the attempt of Staps on the conclusion of peace—M. de Champagny.

Napoleon went to inspect all the corps of his army, and the field of Wagram, which, a short time before, had been the scene of one of those great battles, in which victory was the more glorious in proportion as it had been valiantly contested.* Five days after the bombardment of Vienna, namely, on the 17th of May, the emperor had published a decree, by virtue of which the pope's states were united to the French empire, and Rome was declared an imperial city. I will not stop to inquire whether this was good or bad in point of policy, but it was a mean usurpation on the part of Napoleon, for the time was passed when a Julius II. laid down the keys of St. Peter, and took up the sword of St. Paul. It was, besides, an injustice; and considering the pope's condescension to Napoleon, an act of black ingratitude. The decree of union did not deprive the pope of his residence; but he was only the first bishop of Christendom, with a revenue of two millions.

Napoleon, while at Vienna, heard of the affair of Talaveira de la Reyna. I was informed, by a letter from head-quarters, that he was much affected at the news, and did not conceal his vexation. I verily believe that he was bent on the conquest of Spain,

* The great battle of Wagram was fought on the 6th of July, 1809. The Austrians, who committed one of their usual mistakes in over-extending their lines, lost 20,000 men as prisoners, besides a fearful amount in killed and wounded. There was no day, perhaps, on which Napoleon showed more military genius or more personal courage. He was in the hottest of the fight, and for a long time exposed to showers of grape-shot.—*Editor.*

precisely on account of the difficulties he had to surmount. At Talaveira commenced the celebrity of a man, who, perhaps, would not have been without some glory, even if pains had not been taken to build him up a great reputation. That battle commenced the career of Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose after-success, however, has been attended by such important consequences.* Whilst we experienced this check in Spain, the English were attempting an expedition to Holland, where they had already made themselves masters of Walcheren. It is true they were obliged to evacuate it shortly after; but as, at that time, the French and Austrian armies were in a state of inaction, in consequence of the armistice concluded at Znaim, in Moravia, the news unfavourable to Napoleon had the effect of raising the hopes of the Austrian negotiators, who paused in the expectation that fresh defeats would afford them better chances. It was during these negotiations, the termination of which seemed every day to be further distant, that Napoleon was exposed to a more real danger than the wound he had received at Ratisbon. Germany was suffering under a degree of distress difficult to be described. Illuminism was making great progress, and had filled some youthful minds with an enthusiasm not less violent than the religious fanaticism to which Henry IV. fell a victim.

A young man formed the design of assassinating Napoleon, in order to rid Germany of one whom he considered her scourge. Rapp and Berthier were with the emperor when the assassin was arrested, and in relating what I heard from them, I feel assured that I am giving the most faithful account of all the circumstances connected with the event.

"We were at Schœnbrunn," said Rapp, "when the emperor had just reviewed the troops. I observed a young man at the extremity of one of the columns, just as the troops were about to defile. He advanced towards the emperor, who was then between Berthier and me. The Prince de Neufchâtel, thinking he wanted to present a petition, went forward to tell him that I was the person to receive it, as I was the aide-de-camp for the day. The young man replied, that he wished to speak with Napoleon himself, and Berthier again told him he must apply to me. He withdrew a little, still repeating that he wanted to speak with Napoleon. He again advanced and came very near the emperor; I desired him to fall back, telling him, in German, to wait till after the parade, when, if he had any thing to say, it would be attended to. I surveyed him attentively, for I began to think his conduct suspicious. I observed that he kept his right hand in the breast pocket of his coat; out of which a piece of paper appeared. I know not how it was, but at that moment my eyes met his, and I was struck with his peculiar look and air

* The battle of Talaveira took place on the 28th of July, twenty-two days after the fatal defeat of the Austrians at Wagram.—*Editor.*

BATTLE AT ZNAIM, JULY 11, 1809.

FROM THE AQUARELLE, BY GENERAL LEJEUNE, IN THE COLLECTION OF BARON LEJEUNE.

THE BATTLE OF WAGRAM.

of fixed determination. Seeing an officer of gendarmerie on the spot, I desired him to seize the young man, but without treating him with any severity, and to convey him to the castle until the parade was ended. All this passed in less time than I have taken to tell it; and as every one's attention was fixed on the parade, the scene passed unnoticed. I was shortly afterwards told that a large carving-knife had been found on the young man, whose name was Staps. I immediately went to find Duroc, and we proceeded together to the apartment to which Staps had been taken. We found him sitting on a bed, apparently in deep thought, but betraying no symptoms of fear. He had beside him the portrait of a young female, his pocket-book, and purse, containing only two pieces of gold. I asked him his name, but he replied, that he would tell it to no one but Napoleon. I then asked him what he intended to do with the knife which had been found upon him? But he answered again, 'I shall tell only Napoleon.'—'Did you mean to attempt his life?'—'Yes.'—'Why?'—'I can tell none but Napoleon.' This appeared to me so strange, that I thought right to inform the emperor of it. When I told him what had passed, he appeared a little agitated, for you know how he was haunted with the idea of assassination. He desired that the young man should be taken into his cabinet, whither he was accordingly conducted by two gendarmes. Notwithstanding his criminal intention, there was something exceedingly prepossessing in his countenance. I wished that he would deny the attempt; but how was it possible to save a man who was determined to sacrifice himself? The emperor asked Staps whether he could speak French, and he answered, that he could speak it very imperfectly, and as you know (continued Rapp) that next to you I am the best German scholar in Napoleon's court, I was appointed interpreter on this occasion. The emperor put the following questions to Staps, which I translated, together with the answers:

"'Where do you come from?'—'From Narremburgh.'—'What is your father?'—'A protestant minister.'—'How old are you?'—'Eighteen.'—'What did you intend to do with your knife?'—'To kill you.'—'You are mad, young man; you are one of the illuminati?'—'I am not mad: I know not what is meant by the illuminati!'—'You are ill, then?'—'I am not: I am very well.'—'Why did you wish to kill me?'—'Because you have ruined my country.'—'Have I done you any harm?'—'Yes, you have harmed me as well as all Germans.'—'By whom were you sent? Who urged you to this crime?'—'No one; I was urged to it by the sincere conviction, that by killing you, I should render the greatest service to my country.'—'Is this the first time you have seen me?'—'I saw you at Erfurt, at the time of your interview with the Emperor of Russia.'—'Did you intend to kill me then?'—'No; I thought you would not

again wage war against Germany. I was one of your greatest admirers.'—'How long have you been in Vienna?'—'Ten days.'—'Why did you wait so long before you attempted the execution of your project?'—'I came to Schœnbrunn a week ago, with the intention of killing you; but when I arrived, the parade was just over; I therefore deferred the execution of my design till to-day.'—'I tell you, young man, you are either mad or in bad health.'

"The emperor here ordered Corvisart to be sent for. Staps asked who Corvisart was? I told him that he was a physician. He then said, 'I have no need of him.' Nothing further was said until the arrival of the doctor, and during this interval Staps evinced the utmost indifference. When Corvisart arrived, Napoleon directed him to feel the young man's pulse, which he immediately did; and Staps then very coolly said, 'Am I not well, sir?' Corvisart told the emperor that nothing ailed him. 'I told you so,' said Staps, pronouncing the words with an air of triumph.

"I was really astonished at the coolness and apathy of Staps, and the emperor seemed for a moment confounded by the young man's behaviour. After a few moments' pause, the emperor resumed the interrogatory as follows:

"'Your brain is disordered. You will be the ruin of your family. I will grant you your life, if you ask pardon for the crime you meditated, and for which you ought to be sorry.'—'I want no pardon. I only regret having failed in my attempt.'—'Indeed! then a crime is nothing to you?'—'To kill you is no crime: it is a duty.'—'Whose portrait is that which was found on you?'—'It is the portrait of a young lady to whom I am attached.'—'She will doubtless be much distressed at your adventure?'—'She will only be sorry that I have not succeeded. She abhors you as much as I do.'—'But if I were to pardon you, would you be grateful for my mercy?'—'I would, nevertheless, kill you, if I could.'

"I never," continued Rapp, "saw Napoleon look so confounded. The replies of Staps, and his immovable resolution, perfectly astonished him. He ordered the prisoner to be removed: and when he was gone Napoleon said, 'This is the result of the secret societies which infest Germany. This is the effect of fine principles, and the light of reason. They make young men assassins. But what can be done against illuminism? A sect cannot be destroyed by cannon-balls.'

"This event, though pains were taken to keep it secret, became the subject of conversation in the castle of Schœnbrunn. In the evening the emperor sent for me, and said, 'Rapp, the affair of this morning is very extraordinary. I cannot believe that this young man of himself conceived the design of assassinating me. There is something under it. I shall never be persuaded that the intriguers of Berlin and Weimar are strangers

to the affair.'—'Sire, allow me to say that your suspicions appear unfounded. Staps has had no accomplice; his placid countenance and even his fanaticism are evident proofs of that.'—'I tell you that he has been instigated by women: furies thirsting for revenge. If I could only obtain proof of it, I would have them seized in the midst of their court.'—'Ah, sire, it is impossible that either man or woman in the courts of Berlin or Weimar could have conceived so atrocious a design.'—'I am not sure of that. Did not those women excite Schill against us, while we were at peace with Prussia; but stay a little; we shall see.'—'Schill's enterprise, sire, bears no resemblance to this attempt.' You know how the emperor likes every one to yield to his opinion, when he has adopted one, which he does not choose to give up; so he said, rather changing his tone of good-humoured familiarity, 'All you say is in vain, Monsieur le Général: I am not liked either at Berlin or Weimar.'—'There is no doubt of that, sire; but because you are not liked in those two courts, is it to be inferred that they would assassinate you?'—'I know the fury of those women; but patience. Write to General Lauer: direct him to interrogate Staps. Tell him to bring him to a confession.'

"I wrote, conformably with the emperor's orders, but no confession was obtained from Staps. In his examination by General Lauer, he repeated nearly what he had said in the presence of Napoleon. His resignation and firmness never forsook him for a moment; and he persisted in saying that he was the sole author of the attempt, and that no one else was aware of it. Staps's enterprise made a deep impression on the emperor. On the day when we left Schœnbrunn, we happened to be alone, and he said to me, 'I cannot get this unfortunate Staps out of my mind. The more I think on the subject, the more I am perplexed. I never can believe that a young man of his age, a German, one who has received a good education, a Protestant too, could have conceived and attempted such a crime. The Italians are said to be a nation of assassins, but no Italian ever attempted my life. This affair is beyond my comprehension. Inquire how Staps died, and let me know.'

"I obtained from General Lauer the information which the emperor desired. I learned that Staps, whose attempt on the emperor's life was made on the 23d of October, was executed at seven o'clock in the morning on the 27th, having refused to take any sustenance since the 24th. When any food was brought to him, he rejected it, saying, 'I shall be strong enough to walk to the scaffold.' When he was told that peace was concluded, he evinced extreme sorrow, and was seized with trembling. On reaching the place of execution, he exclaimed, loudly, 'Liberty for ever! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!' "*

* "I wrote to General Lauer, requesting that he would give us an account of the conduct of Staps in his last moments. He informed me that the prisoner

Such are the notes which I committed to paper, after conversing with Rapp, as we were walking together in the garden of the old hotel of Montmorin, in which Rapp resided. I recollect his showing me the knife taken from Staps, which the emperor had given him: it was merely a common carving-knife, such as is used in kitchens. To these details may be added a very remarkable circumstance, which I received from another, but not less authentic source. I have been assured, that the attempt of the German Mutius Scævola, had a marked influence on the concessions which the emperor made, because he feared that Staps, like him who attempted the life of Porsenna, might have imitators among the illuminati of Germany.

It is well known that, after the battle of Wagram, conferences were opened at Raab. Although peace was almost absolutely necessary for both powers, and the two emperors appeared to desire it equally, it was not, however, concluded. It is worthy of remark, that the delay was occasioned by Bonaparte. Negotiations were therefore suspended; and M. de Champagny had ceased, for several days, to see the Prince of Lichtenstein, when the affair of Staps took place. Immediately after Napoleon's examination of the young fanatic, he sent for M. de Champagny. "How are the negotiations going on?" he inquired. The minister having informed him, the emperor added, "I wish them to be resumed immediately: I wish for peace; do not hesitate about a few millions, more or less, in the indemnity demanded from Austria. Yield on that point. I wish to come to a conclusion: I refer it all to you." The minister lost no time in writing to the Prince de Lichtenstein: on the same night the two negotiators met at Raab, and the clauses of the treaty, which had been suspended, were discussed, agreed upon, and signed that very night. Next morning, M. de Champagny attended the emperor's levee, with the treaty of peace, as it had been agreed on. Napoleon, after hastily examining it, expressed his approbation of every particular, and highly complimented his minister on the speed with which the treaty had been brought to a conclusion.

had been executed at seven in the morning of the 27th; that he had taken no sustenance since the 24th; that food had been offered to him, but that he had constantly refused it, because, as he said, he had sufficient strength to walk to the place of execution. He was informed that peace was concluded; and this intelligence seemed to agitate him. His last words were, '*Liberty for ever! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!*' I delivered the report to Napoleon. He desired me to keep the knife that had been found upon the criminal: it is still in my possession."— *Memoirs of General Rapp.* (*Editor.*)

[This definitive treaty of peace, which is sometimes called the treaty of Presburg, and at others the treaty of Raab, contained the following articles:

1. Austria ceded in favour of the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, Saltzburg, Berchtolsgaden, and a part of Upper Austria.

2. To France directly, Austria ceded her only seaport, Trieste, and all the countries of Carniola, Friuli, the circle of Villach, with parts of Croatia and Dalmatia. (By these cessions Austria was excluded from the Adriatic sea, and cut off from all communication with the navy of Great Britain.) A small lordship, *enclavé* in the territories of the Grison league, was also given up.

3. To the constant ally of Napoleon, to the King of Saxony, in that character Austria ceded some territory in Bohemia, and, in his capacity of Grand Duke of Warsaw, she attached to his Polish dominions the ancient city of Cracow, and all Western Galicia.

4. Russia, who had entered with but a lukewarm zeal into the war as an ally of France, had a very moderate share of the spoils of Austria. A bit of Eastern Galicia, with a population of 400,000 souls was allotted to her, but in this allotment, the trading town of Brody (almost the only thing worth having) was specially excepted. This last circumstance gave no small degree of disgust to the Emperor Alexander, whose admiration of Napoleon was not destined to have a long date.—*Editor.*]

CHAPTER XIV.

1809.

Results of the union of the papal states with the empire—Bull of excommunication—Removal of the pope from Rome—Coincidences—Marshal Macdonald—The Princess Royal of Denmark—Destruction of the German empire—Napoleon's visit to the courts of Bavaria and Wirtemberg—His return to France—First mention of the divorce—Intelligence of Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa—Refusal of the Hanse Towns to pay the French troops—Napoleon's quarrel with Louis—Journey of the emperor and empress into Holland—Seeds of future war with Russia—Decree for burning English merchandise—Plan for turning an inevitable evil to the best account—Fall on the exchange of St. Petersburg.

I MUST now notice the unfortunate consequences of an event I mentioned in my last chapter, namely, the union of the states of the holy see with the French empire. As I was at Hamburg, I could not of course see what was passing in Rome; but I can place such reliance on the source whence I received the details

of what occurred there, that I do not hesitate to vouch for their correctness.

By a decree of the 17th of May, published by the emperor at the camp of Vienna, the papal states were united to the empire. Napoleon conceived that the court of Rome would humble the old power of the triple crown, to the new power of the crown of France, united to the iron crown; but Pius VII. reckoning, perhaps, without foundation, on his influence over the opinions of the age, thought he could renew those papal extravagances, to which in former times weak sovereigns had bent the knee. To a decree of aggression, Pius VII. opposed a bull of excommunication. I learned this strange resolution of the holy father through a commercial letter; but I still doubted the fact, until one of my agents, who had been directed to keep watch on the emigrants at Altona, brought me a copy of the bull; it had been given him by one of the emigrants, who was so far deceived by his address as to trust him.

I know not whether this important document, of which I kept a copy, has since been published, but as I have never seen it in print, I will subjoin it here:

By the authority of the Almighty God, the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and by our own, we declare that you and all your co-operators, by the act you have just committed, have incurred excommunication, into which (according to the form of our apostolic bulls, which, on such occasions, are posted up in the frequented places in this city), we declare all those have fallen, who, since the last violent invasion of our city, on the 22d of February of the last year, have been guilty, either in Rome, or in the ecclesiastical states, of acts against which we have remonstrated, not only by the numerous protests made by our secretaries of state, who have been successively replaced, but still further in our two consistorial addresses of the 14th of March and the 11th of July, 1808. We also declare as excommunicated all those who were promoters, advisers, and counsellors, of those acts, or whoever has co-operated in their execution.

I learned afterwards that when the emperor, who was at Vienna, received intelligence of this moral opposition of the pope, and heard that the holy father had employed the only arms of which he could avail himself, he showed much anxiety as to the result. But Napoleon would never recede, especially when he had entered upon a wrong course. On the night of the 5th of July, the pope was removed from Rome by General Radet; and the unfortunate pontiff wandered from town to town, but none could receive the illustrious prisoner.* However much this proceeding was to be regretted and censured in all points of view, yet Heaven did not immediately avenge the wrongs committed against the head of the church; for the victory of Wagram took place the very day after the removal of the pope.

* For the true state of the case, see Addenda at the end of the present chapter. (*Editor.*)

Pius the Seventh.

Pius P.P. VII.

AWN BY ERIC PAPE. ENGRAVED BY A. E. ANDI

JOSEPHINE AT THE DOOR OF BONAPARTE'S CHAMBER.

During the campaign of Vienna I was struck with another coincidence which, under other circumstances, I should not have noticed. On the anniversary of the 14th of July, a day famous in the calendar of the revolution, for the taking of the Bastile and the Federation, another Federation, if I may so express myself, was formed on the field of battle. On that day, the type of French honour, Macdonald, who, after achieving a succession of prodigies, led the army of Italy into the heart of the Austrian states, was made a marshal on the field: Napoleon said to him, "With us it is, for life and for death." The general opinion was that the elevation of Macdonald added less to the marshal's military reputation than it redounded to the honour of the emperor.

About this time I had the pleasure of again seeing the son of the reigning Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, whose arrival in the Hanse Towns was speedily followed by that of his sister, Princess Frederica Charlotte of Mecklenburg, married to the Prince Royal of Denmark, Christian Frederick. In November the princess arrived at Altona from Copenhagen; the reports circulated respecting her having compelled her husband to separate from her. The history of this princess, who, though perhaps blameable, was, nevertheless, much pitied, was the general subject of conversation in the north of Germany at the time I was at Hamburg. The King of Denmark, grieved at the publicity of the separation, wrote a letter on the subject to the Duke of Mecklenburg. In this letter, which I had an opportunity of seeing, the king expressed his regret at not having been able to prevent the scandal; for, on his return from a journey to Kiel, the affair had become so notorious that all attempts at reconciliation were vain. In the mean time it was settled that the princess was to remain at Altona until something should be decided respecting her future condition.

It was Baron Plessin, the Duke of Mecklenburg's minister of state, who favoured me with a sight of the King of Denmark's letters. M. Plessin told me, likewise, at the time, that the Duke had formed the irrevocable determination of not receiving his daughter. A few days after her arrival, the princess visited Madame de Bourrienne. She invited us to her parties, which were very brilliant, and several times did us the honour of being present at ours. But, unfortunately, the extravagance of her conduct, which was utterly unsuitable to her situation, soon became the subject of general animadversion.

I mentioned, at the close of the last chapter, how the promptitude of M. de Champagny brought about the conclusion of the treaty, known by the name of the treaty of Schœnbrunn. By this treaty the old edifice of the German empire was overthrown, and Francis II. became Francis I., Emperor of Austria. He, however, could not say, like his namesake of France, *tout est perdu fors l'honneur;* for honour was somewhat committed,

even had nothing else been lost. But the sacrifices Austria was compelled to make were great. The territories ceded to France were immediately united into a new general government, under the collective denomination of the Illyrian provinces. Napoleon thus became master of both sides of the Adriatic, by virtue of his twofold title of Emperor of France and King of Italy. Austria, whose external commerce thus received a check, had no longer any direct communication with the sea. The loss of Fiume, Trieste, and the sea-coast, appeared so vast a sacrifice, that it was impossible to look forward to the duration of a peace so dearly purchased.

The affair of Staps, perhaps, made Napoleon anxious to hurry away from Schœnbrunn, for he set off before he had ratified the preliminaries of the peace, announcing that he would ratify them at Munich. He proceeded in great haste, to Nymphenburg, where he was expected on a visit to the court of Bavaria. He next visited the King of Wirtemberg, whom he pronounced to be the cleverest sovereign in Europe, and at the end of October he arrived at Fontainebleau. From thence he proceeded on horseback to Paris, and he rode so rapidly, that only a single chasseur of his escort could keep up with him, and, attended by this one guard, he entered the court of the Tuileries. While Napoleon was at Fontainebleau, before his return to Paris, Josephine, for the first time, heard the divorce mentioned; the idea had occurred to the emperor's mind while he was at Schœnbrunn.* It was also while at Fontainebleau that Napoleon ap-

* This is confirmed by the testimony of Savary, who says —

"Napoleon often reflected on the best mode of making this communication to the empress; still he was reluctant to speak to her. He was apprehensive of the consequences of her susceptibility of feeling: his heart was never proof against the shedding of tears. He thought, however, that a favourable opportunity offered for breaking the subject previously to his quitting Fontainebleau. He hinted at it in a few words which he had addressed to the empress, but did not explain himself until the arrival of the viceroy, whom he had ordered to join him. He was the first person who spoke openly to his mother, and obtained her consent for that bitter sacrifice. He acted on the occasion like a kind son, and a man grateful to his benefactor, and devoted to his service, by sparing him the necessity of unpleasant explanations towards a partner whose removal was a sacrifice as painful to him as it was affecting. The emperor having arranged whatever related to the future condition of the empress, upon whom he made a liberal settlement, urged the moment of the dissolution of the marriage, no doubt because he felt grieved at the condition of the empress herself, who dined every day, and passed her evenings in the presence of persons who were witnessing her descent from the throne. There existed between him and the Empress Josephine no other bond than a civil act, according to the custom which prevailed at the time of this marriage. Now the laws had foreseen the dissolution of such marriage contracts. A particular day having therefore been fixed upon, the emperor brought together into his apartments those persons whose ministry was required in this case; amongst others, the arch-chancellor and M. Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély. The emperor then declared in a loud voice his intention of annulling the marriage he had contracted with Josephine, who was present: the empress also made the same declaration, which was interrupted by her repeated sobs,

ERIC PAPE.

NAPOLEON ANNOUNCES TO JOSEPHINE THE DAY FIXED FOR SIGNING THE PAPERS OF DIVORCE.

THE RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE OF NAPOLEON AND MARIA LOUISA.

MARIE LOUISE.

From an engraving by F. W. Bollinger, after Monsorno (Vienna, 1810).

T. B. Schiavonetti, Berlin (no date).

pointed M. de Montalivet to be minister of the interior. The letters which we received from Paris at this period brought intelligence of the brilliant state of the capital during the winter of 1809, and especially of the splendour of the imperial court, where the emperor's levees were attended by the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Wirtemberg, all eager to evince their gratitude to the hero who had raised them to the sovereign rank.

I was the first person in Hamburg who received intelligence of Napoleon's projected marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa. The news was brought to me from Vienna by two estafettes. It is impossible to describe the effect produced by the anticipation of this event throughout the north of Germany. From all parts the merchants received orders to buy Austrian stock, in which an extraordinary rise immediately took place. Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa was hailed with enthusiastic and general joy. The event was regarded as the guarantee of a long peace, and it was hoped there would be a lasting cessation of the disasters created by the rivalry of France and Austria. The correspondence I received showed that these sentiments were general in the interior of France, and in different countries of Europe; and in spite of the presentiments I had always had of the return of the Bourbons to France, I now began to think that event problematic, or at least very remote.*

About the beginning of the year 1810, commenced the differences between Napoleon and his brother Louis, which, as I have already stated, ended in a complete rupture. Napoleon's object was to make himself master of the navigation of the Scheldt, which Louis wished should remain free, and hence ensued the union of Holland with the French empire. Holland was the first province of the grand empire which Napoleon took the new empress to visit. This visit took place almost immediately after the marriage. Napoleon first proceeded to Compiègne, where he remained a week. He next set out for Saint-Quentin, and inspected the canal. The empress Maria Louisa then joined him, and they both proceeded to Belgium. At Antwerp the emperor inspected all the works which he had ordered, and to the execution of which he attached great importance. He returned by way of Ostend, Lille, and Normandy, to Saint-Cloud, where he arrived on the 1st of June, 1810. He then learned from my correspondence, that the Hanse Towns refused to advance money for the pay of the French troops. The men were absolutely destitute. I declared

The prince arch-chancellor having caused the article of the law to be read, he applied it to the case before him, and declared the marriage to be dissolved."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (*Editor.*)

* As M. de Bourrienne passes over in silence the ceremonies which attended Napoleon's marriage, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter for Savary's concise account of Maria Louisa's arrival in France, and the ceremonies at Saint-Cloud and the Tuileries.—*Editor.*

that it was urgent to put an end to this state of things. The Hanse Towns had been reduced from opulence to misery, by taxation and exactions, and were absolutely unable to maintain the unjust burden now imposed upon them.

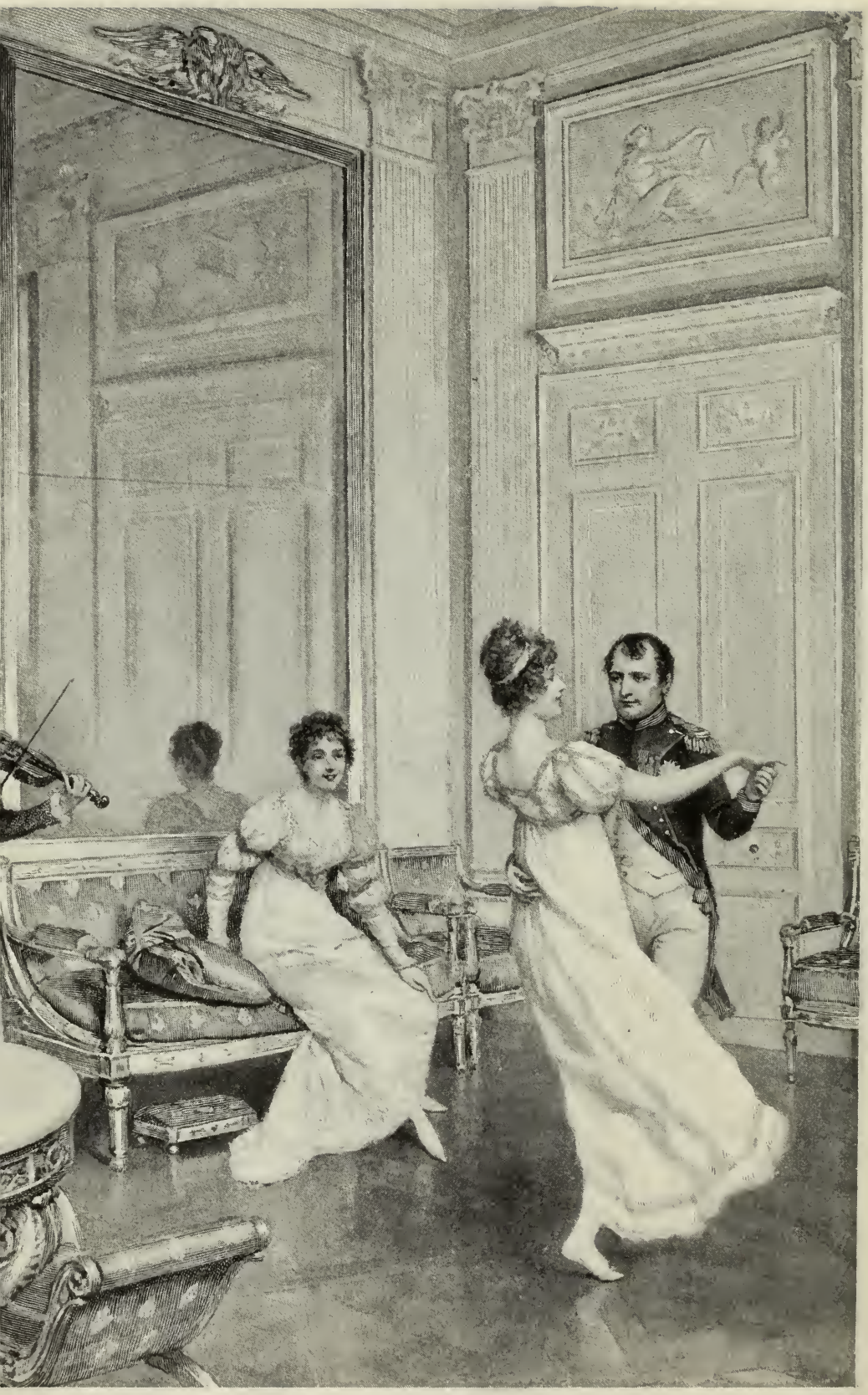
Napoleon was still involved in his war against Spain and England. His wish to make peace with the latter power gave rise to several intrigues, by no means of the most dignified kind; but all his efforts failed. The perspective of continued war produced an ill effect every where, but especially in Holland, where the prevailing misery was likely to be augmented by an indefinite prolongation of the restrictions on trade. The question as to what was to become of Holland, was now decided by possession; but it was easy to perceive that the Dutch would seek an opportunity of throwing off the ruinous yoke which France had imposed upon them, and would throw themselves on the protection of the first power that might offer to deliver them. Napoleon had united Holland to the empire, in order to prevent that country from falling under the dominion of the English; but how many interests were violated by that measure. The centre of commercial relations thus attacked in its very foundation, caused a general shock. The union was satisfactory to nobody; but it served to open the eyes of the great powers. It cannot be doubted, that the union of Holland with the empire, was an obstacle to the wished-for peace with England. It was a prelude to the union of the Hanse Towns which disposed Russia to those hostilities necessary to preserve her from ruin.

The summer of 1810 passed away very calmly in the Hanse Towns. However, some apprehensions were entertained for the future, and whenever a new decree, or senatus consultum, announced the union of new provinces to the empire, the most clearsighted persons were not without alarm for the fate which must inevitably await the Hanse Towns. During the same year Napoleon, in a fit of madness, issued a decree which I cannot characterize by any other epithet than infernal. I allude to the decree for burning all the English merchandise in France, Holland, the Grand Duchy of Berg, the Hanse Towns; in short, in all places subject to the disastrous dominion of Napoleon. In the interior of France, no idea could possibly be formed of the desolation caused by this measure in countries which existed by commerce; and what a spectacle was it to the destitute inhabitants of those countries to witness the destruction of property which, had it been distributed, would have assuaged their misery?

One duty with which I was intrusted, and to which great importance was attached, was the application and execution of the disastrous continental system in the north. In my correspondence I did not conceal the dissatisfaction which this ruinous measure excited, and the emperor's eyes were at length opened on the subject by the following circumstance. In spite of the

G BY GEORGES ROUGET, IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES. ENGRAVED BY J. W. EVANS.

DETAIL FROM THE RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE OF NAPOLEON AND MARIA LOUISA.



sincerity with which the Danish government professed to enforce the continental system, Holstein contained a great quantity of colonial produce; and, notwitstanding the measures of severity, it was necessary that that merchandise should find a market somewhere. The smugglers often succeeded in introducing it into Germany, and the whole would probably soon have passed the custom-house limits. All things considered, I thought it advisable to make the best of an evil that could not be avoided. I therefore proposed, that the colonial produce then in Holstein, and which had been imported before the date of the edict for its prohibition, should be allowed to enter Hamburg on the payment of thirty, and on some articles, forty per cent. This duty was to be collected at the custom-house, and was to be confined entirely to articles consumed in Germany. The colonial produce in Altona, Gluckstadt, Husum, and other towns of Holstein, had been estimated at about thirty millions of francs, and the duty would amount to ten or twelve millions. The adoption of the plan I proposed would naturally put a stop to smuggling; for it could not be doubted, that the merchants would give thirty or thirty-three per cent. for the right of carrying on a lawful trade, rather than give forty per cent. to the smugglers, with the chance of seizure.

The emperor immediately adopted my idea; for I transmitted my suggestions to the minister for foreign affairs on the 18th of September, and on the 4th of October, a decree was issued conformable to the plan I proposed. Within six weeks after the decree came into operation, the custom-house director received thirteen hundred declarations from persons holding colonial produce in Holstein. It now appeared that the duties would amount to forty millions of francs, that is to say, twenty-eight or thirty millions more than my estimate.

Bernadotte had just been nominated Prince Royal of Sweden. This nomination, with all the circumstances connected with it, as well as Bernadotte's residence in Hamburg, before he proceeded to Stockholm, will be particularly noticed in the next chapter. I merely mention the circumstance here, to explain some events which took place in the north, and which were, more or less, directly connected with it. For example, in the month of September, the course of exchange on St. Petersburg suddenly fell. All the letters which arrived in Hamburg, from the capital of Russia and from Riga, attributed the fall to the election of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, as Prince Royal of Sweden. Of thirty letters which I received, there was not one but described the consternation which the event had created in St. Petersburg. This consternation, however, might have been excited less by the choice of Sweden, than by the fear that that choice was influenced by the French government.

SEIZURE OF THE POPE.

The account of the rude and forcible seizure of the Pope, given by Carlo Botta, is as true and correct as it is striking. We have known many persons at Rome who were acquainted with all the facts as they occurred.

"Having pronounced his sentence, Pius retired to the innermost chambers of his palace to pray and to wait events. He caused the gates to be carefully locked up, and the private doorways of the Quirinal palace to be all walled up in order that the French should not be able to penetrate to his presence without a manifest violation of his dwelling. The men of Napoleon informed their master of the anger of the Pope, and begged that he would order what steps they ought to take with him. Bonaparte answered that they must make Pius revoke his bull, accept his offered pension of two millions of francs, and in case of an obstinate refusal, to arrest him and carry him off to France. This harsh command found harsh executors. On the night of the 5th of July, thief-takers, thieves, convicts, and with them (a thing almost incredible!) generals and soldiers of Napoleon went to violate and break open the palace of the Pope. The commoner scoundrels,—the thief-catchers, and the rest, climbed over the outer walls of the Quirinal, and opened the gates to the troops. They burst open the interior gates, they forced the doors from their hinges, they cut through walls: this nocturnal rumour spread from apartment to apartment, until it reached the inmost recesses of the assaulted Quirinal; and the darkness of night increased the terror of the scene. Awakened from their sleep, the servants of the Pope trembled: Pius alone preserved a perfect firmness. Cardinal Pacca was with him, and they prayed together, and mutually comforted each other. As they were thus engaged, the adherents of Bonaparte forced open all the doors, rushed into the room of the innocent and persecuted Pontiff. He in haste put on his pontifical robes, in order to show to the world the violation not merely exercised on his person, but on his rank and dignity. Radet, a general of Napoleon's gendarmerie, entered the room by force, and was followed by a certain Diana, who had a very narrow escape from the guillotine at Paris, for being concerned in a plot against Napoleon's life with the sculptor Ceracchi, and who now had not merely entered Napoleon's service, but engaged in serving him in the most iniquitous act that had been committed for a long time. Radet, in obedience to his emperor's orders, immediately announced the conditions to the Pope. Pius rejected them, not haughtily, but mildly and decidedly. He then told Radet that he pardoned *him* as being only the executor of his master's orders, but turning to Diana, he said he wondered

that one of his own born subjects should thus dare to appear before him and insult his dignity;—and then he added that he pardoned even Diana. The Pope next declared to be null and of no avail all that the French government had done and was then doing against himself, the states of the church, and the Roman See. He said he was prepared for all things—that they might do with him what they liked—even lead him to instant execution, seeing that an innocent man had nothing to fear. At this point he took in one hand his crucifix, in the other his breviary (all that remained to him of so much grandeur), and followed the bad men who had broken into his palace. Radet asked him to give the names of such of his faithful friends or attendants as he wished should accompany him: he gave them, but not one of those friends was allowed to accompany him. Even the Cardinal Pacca was forcibly dragged from his arms. He was then with tumultuous hurry, and in the midst of armed men, forced into a carriage that drove off at full speed towards Tuscany. The only person that went in the coach with him was Radet. While these nocturnal and unworthy actions were a doing in the pontifical palace, General Miollis, the French governor of Rome, was abroad in the town to watch the proceedings, and receive regular reports of the progress of the nefarious transaction. The general was not without some fear of a popular rising in favour of the Pope, and for this reason he had chosen the dead of night, had recommended speed, and had called in 2000 Neapolitans of the army of Murat, under pretext that they were marching for Upper Italy.

"Rome was filled with stupor and horror, when, as the day dawned, the news was spread. The gaolers of the Pope drove him on in the utmost rapidity with post-horses, in order to get him out of Italy before the intelligence should get in advance of them among the people. So much did the master of all arms dread a religious opinion. The gendarmes escorted from station to station the captive but still potent Pius VII. On approaching Genoa, fearing his presence might create an insurrection among the peasantry and sailors of the Riviera di Levante, they embarked him in a small boat that had come from Tuscany. The pontiff asked his gaolers if it was the intention of the French government to drown him: they answered that it was not the case. As soon as he set foot on shore at Genoa, they shut him up in a carriage already prepared, and threatened to shoot the postilions if they did not gallop all the way. He was allowed breathing-time in Alessandria, as that was a strong fortress full of French soldiery. They then hurried him across the plain of Piedmont with the rapidity of lightning. At Saint Ambrogio di Susa, they had ordered horses to be put to, with instructions to go on faster than they had come; but worn out with age and grief, and the fatigues of the journey, the Pope asked them whether Napoleon wished to have him

dead or alive. They answered, alive. "If it be so," said the Pope, "we must remain this night where we are." It was deemed necessary to comply with this request. The next day he was carried across Mount Cenis. The Italian people not having been able, on account of the rapidity of his progress, to venerate the pontiff when he was present, venerated him when he was far away, piously visiting the places he had stopped at, the places through which he had passed; and they called these spots sacred from his misfortunes, his dignity, and his sanctity. These were seeds of destruction for Napoleon: already the predictions of Pius were beginning to be verified, and the fulness of time was approaching. The faithful Cardinal Pacca was carried off to the mountain fortress of Pignard, the sad sojourn of so many innocent men who incurred Napoleon's displeasure.

"After his arrival in France, the Pope was allowed to remain for some days in Grenoble, and then forced to set off again on his travels. They made him pass, as if there had been no other road, through Valence in Dauphiny, the place where Pius VI. had died—an act the more rude and cruel because wholly unnecessary. They then conducted him by way of Avignon, Aix, and Nice, to Savona, a town not far from Genoa. This was a strange roundabout journey from Rome through France to Savona! But his departure was concealed, and the way he was to take was a mystery to all except those who saw him here and there."—*Storia d' Italia*, tomo iv.

It will be remembered that Pius VI., the immediate predecessor of the old Pope in question, had been forcibly carried off in 1799, by the French republicans to Valence, where he died not less from persecution than from age.—*Editor.*

MARRIAGE WITH MARIA LOUISA.

Cherishing for General Lauristan, formerly his aide-de-camp, a friendship of very long standing, Napoleon commissioned him to proceed to Vienna, and to accompany the empress to Paris as the captain of his body guard. With the view of honouring the memory of Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, he appointed his widow to be a lady of honour to the new empress, finding it impossible to bestow upon her a more signal proof of his esteem; for she had not at that time any claim to entitle her to a situation which was to place her, all at once, at the head of the highest society.

He sent his sister, the Queen of Naples, as far as Braunaw, with four ladies of honour, to meet the empress. We had then in Braunaw the corps of Marshal Davoust, who was completing the measure of evacuating Austria. This corps was placed under arms upon the arrival of the empress, and gave her as brilliant a reception as the means of so small a town could afford. Tha Queen of Naples re-

Isabey, pinx.

Dean, sculp.

The Empress Marie Louise.

London, Published by Richard Bentley, 1834.

A. Deveria del.

LE PAYSAN DU RHIN.

THE PEASANT OF THE RHINE.

THE PEASANT OF THE RHINE.

Some time after his alliance with the house of Austria, Napoleon, with the view perhaps of making the new empress known and popular, accompanied her in several excursions. One day whilst walking on the banks of the Rhine, he took a fancy to dine on one of its islands. They sat down to table. A little farm was in the neighbourhood. Napoleon desired to see the farmer, and despatched a messenger to summon him. Full of surprise, and doubtful, the poor peasant hesitated to approach the emperor; he advanced awkwardly, and his countenance fully expressed the embarrassment he suffered, and was unable to overcome.

Napoleon questioned him respecting his farm, his family, and his necessities. The poor fellow could scarce find words to reply. The emperor kindly encouraged him, and offered him something to drink, when the farmer, abashed by so much honour, hardly dare carry the glass to his lips; he attempted several times, and as often failed. At length he overcame his fear, and not only did he give every information that was required of him, but ventured to point out changes which he would be glad to see.—1810.

ceived the empress at Braunaw, where the ceremony took place of delivering up her majesty by the officers whom her father had appointed to accompany her, as well as of the delivery of her effects; and, as soon as the empress had clothed herself in the garments brought in the wardrobe from Paris, she passed over the frontier with the ladies of the palace who were in attendance, and gave audience of leave to all those who had accompanied her from Vienna, and were about to return. All this was accomplished within an hour from the time of her arrival at Braunaw.

She departed immediately for Munich, Augsburg, Stutgard, Carlsruhe, and Strasburg, and was received with great splendour at all the foreign courts, and at Strasburg with great enthusiasm. So many hopes were interwoven with the marriage, that her arrival was sincerely greeted by all.

The emperor had gone as far as Compiègne to receive her, the court being then at that residence. He wrote to her every day by a page, who went off at full speed with his letters, and as quickly brought back her replies. I recollect that the emperor having dropped the envelope of the first letter, it was instantly picked up, and handed about the saloon as a specimen of the handwriting of the empress: the eagerness to see it was as great as if her portrait had been exhibited. The pages who came from her were tormented with questions. We had, in short, been transformed at once into courtiers as assiduous as our ancestors in the days of Louis XIV., and would scarcely have been taken for the men who had laid so many nations prostrate at their feet.

The emperor was no less impatient than ourselves, and much more interested in knowing what more peculiarly concerned him; he really appeared love-stricken. He had ordered that the route of the empress should be by way of Nancy, Chalons, Rheims, and Soissons, and could almost point out, at any hour of the day, the progress she had then made.

On the day of her arrival he took his departure in a plain carriage, with no other attendant than the grand marshal, after giving his instructions to Marshal Bessières, who remained at Compiègne.

He travelled on the road of Soissons and Rheims, until he met the carriage of the empress, which was suddenly stopped by his courier. The emperor alighted, ran up to the door of the empress's carriage, opened it himself, and stepped in. On perceiving the astonishment of the empress, who knew not the meaning of this abruptness in a stranger, the Queen of Naples said to her, "Madam, this is the emperor." He returned to Compiègne in their company.

Marshal Bessières had ordered out all the cavalry quartered near the palace, and advanced with it and with the general officers and the emperor's aides-de-camp on the road to Soissons, as far as a well-known stone bridge, the name of which I do not recollect; at the same bridge Louis XV. had met the dauphiness, daughter of Maria Theresa, afterwards the unhappy Queen of France.

The people of Compiègne had succeeded in making their way to the porch of the palace, where they ranged themselves in a double line. The empress, on her arrival, was received at the foot of the principal staircase by the mother and family of the emperor, the whole

court, the ministers, and several personages of the highest rank. It is superfluous to name the person who attracted the attention of every one from the moment the carriage-door was opened until the entrance into the apartments. No court was held that night, and all the company withdrew at an early hour.

According to the etiquette observed at foreign courts, the emperor was no doubt married to the Archduchess Maria Louisa: not so, however, with reference to our civil code; nevertheless, it is said that he followed the example of Henry IV. on his marriage with Maria of Medicis. I am only repeating here the illiberal remarks made the next morning, because I am pledged to speak the truth. The world claimed the privilege of seeing and knowing every thing: as to myself, what I actually saw afforded me nothing to cavil at, notwithstanding the prevailing rumours. Had it, however, been my case, I should have followed the precedent of Henry IV. on this occasion. It happened to be my turn to sleep that night in the apartment of the officers in attendance. The emperor had left the palace and retired to the chancellor's residence; and if the report had been brought to me that all Paris was on fire, I should not have attempted to disturb his repose, under the apprehension that he might not be found at that residence.

The next was a very fatiguing day for the young empress, because presentations were made of persons wholly unknown to her, by individuals with whom she was not much more acquainted.

The emperor himself presented to her his aides-de-camp, who felt highly gratified at this condescending mark of his regard; the lady of honour presented the ladies of the palace and others who were to form her retinue.

The emperor proceeded with the empress to St. Cloud on the day after the public presentation, the attendants of both households followed them in separate carriages. They did not pass through Paris, but took the road to St. Denis, the Bois de Boulogne, and St. Cloud: all the authorities of Paris had repaired to the boundary of the department of the Seine, in the direction of Compiègne, and were followed by a great part of the population, who gave themselves up to the joy and enthusiasm which the occasion naturally created.

An immense crowd had collected at St. Cloud to greet her arrival; first, the princesses of the imperial family, amongst whom were the Vice-queen of Italy, who was then making her first appearance in Paris, the Princess of Baden, the dignitaries, the marshals of France, the senators, and the councillors of state. It was broad daylight when the imperial retinue reached St. Cloud.

The ceremony of the civil marriage did not take place till two days afterwards, in the gallery of the palace at St. Cloud. A platform was raised at the extremity of the gallery, with a table and arm-chairs upon it for the imperial couple, as well as chairs and stools for the princes and princesses of his family: none were present at the ceremony except the persons attached to the respective courts. When all the preliminary arrangements had been gone through, the cortège moved forward from the apartments of the empress, and crossing the grand apartments and the saloon of Hercules, entered the gallery, where it was arranged on the platform in the order laid down by the

rules of etiquette. The place of every one had been determined beforehand, so that in an instant the utmost order and silence pervaded the assembly.

The arch-chancellor stood near a table with a rich velvet covering over it, upon which was a register held by Count Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, the secretary of the imperial family's household. After taking the emperor's orders, the prince arch-chancellor put the following question to him in a loud voice: "Sire, is it your Majesty's intention to take for your lawful wife her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, here present?"—"Yes, sir," was the emperor's answer. The arch-chancellor then addressed the empress: "Madam," he said, "does your Imperial Highness, of your own free consent, take the Emperor Napoleon, here present, for your lawful husband?"—"Yes, sir," she replied. The arch-chancellor proceeded then to declare, in the name of the law, and of the institutions of the empire, that his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria were duly united in marriage. Count Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély presented the act for signature, first to the emperor, afterwards to the empress, and lastly to all the members of the family, as well as to the different personages whose official ranks entitled them to this honourable privilege.

Next morning, the imperial couple left St. Cloud in a carriage drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, preceded by an empty carriage drawn by eight gray horses, which was intended for the empress; thirty other carriages with a ground of gold, and drawn by superb horses, completed the cortège; these were filled with the ladies and officers of the household, and by those whose employments gave them the privilege of being admitted to the imperial presence. The train left St. Cloud between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and was escorted by the whole of the cavalry; it passed through the Bois de Boulogne, the Gate of Maillot, the Champs Elysées, the Place de la Révolution, to the garden of the Tuileries, where all the carriages passed under the peristyle, and stopped, to enable the company to descend and enter the palace.

From the iron railing of the court of the palace of St. Cloud, both sides of the road were lined with so dense a mass of people, that the population of the adjacent country must have flocked to St. Cloud and Paris on the occasion.

The crowd increased on approaching Paris; from the barrier to the palace of the Tuileries it baffled all calculation. Orchestras were placed at stated distances along the Champs Elysées, and played a variety of airs. France appeared to revel in a delight bordering upon frenzy. Many were the protestations of fidelity and attachment made to the emperor; and whosoever had ventured to predict at that time what has since come to pass, would have been scouted as a madman.

When all the carriages had arrived, the cortège resumed its order of etiquette in the gallery of Diana at the Tuileries, and proceeded through a passage expressly constructed for the occasion, and terminating at the gallery of the Museum, which it entered by the door near the Pavilion of Flora.

Here began a new spectacle: both sides of that immense gallery

were lined from one end to the other with a triple row of Parisian ladies of the middling class: nothing could be compared to the variegated scene presented by that assemblage of ladies, whose youthful bloom shone forth more dazzling than their elegant attire.

A balustrade extended along both sides of the gallery, in order to prevent any one from passing beyond a certain line, and the middle of this fine edifice was thus free and unobstructed, so as to admit of a passage for the cortège which moved along, and afforded a feast to the eyes as far as the very altar. The vast saloon at the end of the gallery, where the exhibition of paintings generally took place, had been converted into a chapel. Its circuit was lined by a triple row of splendidly ornamented boxes, filled with the most elegant and distinguished ladies then in Paris. The grand master of the ceremonies assigned to the persons composing the cortège their proper places as they arrived in the chapel. The strictest order was observed during the whole of this ceremony. Mass was performed by his eminence Cardinal Fesch, after which the marriage ceremony took place.—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.**

DECREE ANNEXING HOLLAND TO FRANCE.

Palace of Rambouillet, July 9, 1810.

We, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Mediator of the Swiss Confederation, &c., have decreed, and hereby decree as follows:

Title I.—Art. 1. Holland is united to France. 2. The city of Amsterdam shall be the third city of the empire. 3. Holland shall have six senators, six deputies to the Council of State, twenty-five deputies to the Legislative Body, and two judges in the Court of Cassation. 4. The officers by sea and land, of whatever rank, shall be confirmed in their employments. Commissions shall be delivered to them, signed with our hand. The Royal Guard shall be united to our Imperial Guard.

Title II.—Of the Administration for 1810.—5. The Duke of Placentia, Arch-treasurer of the Empire, shall repair to Amsterdam in the capacity of our Lieutenant-general. He shall preside in the Council of Ministers, and attend to the despatch of business. His functions shall cease the 1st of January, 1811, the period when the French Administration shall commence. 6. All the public functionaries, of whatever rank, are confirmed in their employments.

Title III.—Of the Finances.—7. The present contributions shall continue to be levied until the 1st of January, 1811, at which period the country shall be put on the same footing as for the rest of the empire. 8. The budget of receipts and disbursements shall be submitted to our approbation before the 1st of August next. Only one-

* For many interesting details, most admirably written, respecting Bonaparte's divorce from Josephine, and the circumstances that immediately preceded the divorce, see the Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantès.—*Editor.*

third of the present amount of interest upon the public debt shall be carried to the account of expenditure for 1810. The interest of the debt for 1808 and 1809, not yet paid, shall be reduced to one-third, and charged on the budget of 1810. 9. The custom-houses on the frontier, other than those of France, shall be organized under the superintendence of our Director general of the Custom-houses. The Dutch custom-houses shall be incorporated therewith. The line of custom-houses now on the French frontier shall be kept up until the 1st of January, 1811, when it shall be removed, and the communication of Holland with the empire become free. 10. The colonial produce actually in Holland, shall remain in the hands of the owners upon paying a duty of 50 per cent. *ad valorem*. A declaration of the amount shall be made before the 1st of September, at furthest. The said merchandise, upon payment of the duties, may be imported into France, and circulated through the whole extent of the empire.

Title IV.—11. There shall be at Amsterdam a special Administration, presided over by one of our Councillors of State, which shall have the superintendence of, and the necessary funds to provide for, the repairs of the dykes, polders, and other public works.

Title V.—12. In the course of the present month there shall be nominated, by the Legislative Body of Holland, a Commission of fifteen members, to proceed to Paris, in order to constitute a council whose business shall be to regulate definitively all that relates to the public and local debts, and to conciliate the principles of the union with the localities and interests of the country. 13. Our ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) By the Emperor Napoleon.

(Signed) The Minister Secretary of State,
H. B. Duke of Bassano.

CHAPTER XV.

1809—1810.

Bernadotte elected Prince Royal of Sweden—Count Wrede's overtures to Bernadotte—Bernadotte's three days' visit to Hamburg—Particulars respecting the battle of Wagram—Secret order of the day—Last intercourse of the Prince Royal of Sweden with Napoleon—My advice to Bernadotte respecting the continental system.

I now come to one of the periods of my life to which I look back with most satisfaction:—I allude to the time when Bernadotte was with me in Hamburg. I will briefly relate the series of events which led the opposer of the 18th Brumaire to the throne of Sweden.

On the 13th of March, 1809, Gustavus Adolphus was arrested, and his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, provisionally

took the reins of government. A few days afterwards, Gustavus published his act of abdication, which in the state of Sweden it was impossible for him to refuse. In May following, the Swedish Diet having been convoked at Stockholm, the Duke of Sudermania was elected king. Christian Augustus, the only son of that monarch, of course became prince royal on the accession of his father to the throne. He, however, died suddenly at the end of May, 1810, and Count Fersen, the same who at the court of Marie-Antoinette was distinguished by the appellation of *le beau Fersen*, was massacred by the populace, who suspected, perhaps unjustly, that he had been accessory to the prince's death. On the 20th of August following, Bernadotte was elected Prince Royal of Sweden.

After the death of the prince royal, the Duke of Sudermania's son, Count Wrede, a Swede, made the first overtures to Bernadotte, and announced to him, the intention entertained at Stockholm of offering him the throne of Sweden. Bernadotte was at that time in Paris, and immediately after his first interview with Count Wrede, he waited on the emperor at Saint-Cloud ; Napoleon coolly replied, that he could be of no service to him ; that events must take their course ; that he might accept or refuse the offer as he chose ; that he (Bonaparte) would place no obstacles in his way, but that he could give him no advice. It was very evident that the choice of Sweden was not very agreeable to Bonaparte, and though he afterwards disavowed any opposition to it, he made overtures to Stockholm, proposing that the crown of Sweden should be added to that of Denmark.

Bernadotte then went to the waters of Plombières, and on his return to Paris he sent me a letter announcing his elevation to the rank of Prince Royal of Sweden.

On the 11th of October he arrived in Hamburg, where he stayed only three days. He passed nearly the whole of that time with me, and he communicated to me many curious facts connected with the secret history of the times, and among other things some particulars respecting the battle of Wagram. I was the first to mention to the new Prince Royal of Sweden the reports of the doubtful manner in which the troops, under his command, behaved. I reminded him of Bonaparte's dissatisfaction at these troops : for there was no doubt of the emperor being the author of the complaints contained in the bulletins, especially as he had withdrawn the troops from Bernadotte's command. Bernadotte assured me that Napoleon's censure was unjust : during the battle he had complained of the little spirit manifested by the soldiers. "He refused to see me," added Bernadotte, "and I was told, as a reason for his refusal, that he was astonished and displeased to find, that notwithstanding his complaints, of which I must have heard, I had boasted of having gained the battle ; and had publicly complimented the Saxons, whom I commanded."

Bernadotte then showed me the bulletin he drew up after the battle of Wagram. I remarked that I had never heard of a bulletin being made by any other than the general who was commander-in-chief during a battle, and I asked how the affair ended. He then handed to me a copy of the order of the day, which Napoleon said he had sent only to the marshals commanding the different corps. As this remarkable document is but little known, I may subjoin it here.

"ORDER OF THE DAY.

"Imperial camp of Schœnbrunn, July 9, 1809.

"His majesty expresses his displeasure at the Prince de Ponte-Corvo's order, dated Leopoldstadt, July 7th, and inserted on the same day in nearly all the newspapers, in the following terms: 'Saxons, on the 5th of July, seven or eight thousand of you pierced the enemy's centre, and marched on Deutsch-Wagram in spite of the efforts of 40,000 men, supported by sixty pieces of artillery. You fought till midnight, and bivouacked in the midst of the Austrian lines. On the 6th, at daybreak, you recommenced the battle with the same perseverance, and, in the midst of the ravages of the enemy's artillery, your columns stood firm as iron. The great Napoleon witnessed your courage, and reckons you among his bravest troops. Saxons, the fortune of a soldier consists in fulfilling his duty; you have nobly fulfilled yours. 'BERNADOTTE.

'Bivouac at Leopoldstadt, July 7, 1809.'"

"Independently of his majesty having commanded his army in person, it is for him alone to award the degree of glory each has merited. His majesty owes the success of his arms to the French troops, and to no foreigners. The Prince de Ponte-Corvo's order of the day has a tendency to inspire false pretensions in troops, whose merit does not rise above mediocrity: it is at variance with truth, policy, and national honour. The success of the 5th is due to the Duke de Rivoli and Marshal Oudinot, who penetrated the enemy's centre, at the same time that the Duke of Auerstadt's corps turned his left. The village of Deutsch-Wagram was not taken on the 5th, but on the 6th, by the corps of Marshal Oudinot. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo did not stand as *firm as iron*. He was the first to retreat. His majesty was obliged to order the corps of the viceroy to be covered by the divisions of Broussier and Lamarque, commanded by Marshal Macdonald, by the division of heavy cavalry, commanded by General Nansouty, and by a part of the cavalry of the guard. To Marshal Macdonald and his troops is due the merit which the Prince de Ponte-Corvo takes to himself. His majesty hopes that this expression of his displeasure will henceforth deter any marshal from appropriating to himself the glory which belongs to others. His majesty, however, desires that the present order of the day, which may possibly be mortifying to the Saxon troops, though they must be aware that they are not entitled to the praises bestowed on them, shall remain secret, and be sent only to the marshals commanding the army corps. "NAPOLEON."

Bernadotte's bulletin was printed along with Bonaparte's order of the day, a thing quite unparalleled.*

Though I was much interested in this account of Bonaparte's conduct after the battle of Wagram, yet I was more curious to hear the particulars of Bernadotte's last communication with the emperor. The prince informed me, that on his return from Plombières, he attended the levee, when the emperor asked him, before every one present, whether he had received any recent news from Sweden. He replied in the affirmative. "What is it?" inquired Napoleon.—"Sire, I am informed that your majesty's chargé-d'affaires at Stockholm opposes my election. It is also reported to those who choose to believe it, that your majesty gives the preference to the King of Denmark." "At these words," continued Bernadotte, "the emperor affected surprise, which you know he can do very artfully. He assured me it was impossible, and then turned the conversation to another subject. I know not what to think of his conduct in this affair. I am aware he does not like me; but the interests of his policy may render him favourable to Sweden. Considering the present greatness and power of France, I conceived it to be my duty to make every personal sacrifice. But I swear to Heaven that I will never commit the honour of Sweden. He, however, expressed himself in the best possible terms in speaking of Charles XIII. and me. He at first started no obstacle to my acceptance of the succession to the throne of Sweden, and he ordered the official announcement of my election to be immediately inserted in the Moniteur. Ten days elapsed without the emperor's saying a word to me about my departure. As I was anxious to be off, and all my preparations were made, I determined to go and ask him for the letters patent, to relieve me from my oath of fidelity, which I had certainly kept faithfully in spite of all his ill-treatment of me. He at first appeared somewhat surprised at my request, and, after a little hesitation, he said, "There is a preliminary condition to be fulfilled; a question has been raised by one of the members of the privy council.'—'What condition, sire?'—'You must pledge yourself not to bear arms against me'—'Does your majesty suppose that I can bind myself by such an engagement? My election by the diet of Sweden, which has met with your majesty's assent, has made me a Swedish subject, and that character is incompatible with the pledge proposed by a member of the council. I am sure it could never have emanated from your majesty, and must proceed from the arch-chancellor, or the grand judge, who certainly could not have been aware of the height to which the

* For Savary's version of the difference which arose between Bonaparte and Bernadotte at Wagram, together with some interesting anecdotes connected with the battle, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter.—*Editor.*

proposition would raise me.'—What do you mean?'—' If, sire, you prevent me accepting a crown, unless I pledge myself not to bear arms against you, do you not really place me on a level with you as a general?'

" Whenever I declared positively that my election must make me consider myself a Swedish subject, he frowned, and seemed embarrassed. When I had done speaking, he said, in a low and faltering voice, ' Well, go. Our destinies will soon be accomplished.' These words were uttered so indistinctly, that I was obliged to beg pardon for not having heard what he said, and he repeated, ' Go! our destinies will soon be accomplished." In the subsequent conversations which I had with the emperor, I tried all possible means to remove the unfavourable sentiments he cherished towards me. I revived my recollections of history. I spoke to him of the great men who had excited the admiration of the world, of the difficulties and obstacles which they had to surmount; and, above all, I dwelt upon that solid glory which is founded on the establishment and maintenance of public tranquillity and happiness. The emperor listened to me attentively, and frequently concurred in my opinion as to the principles of the prosperity and stability of states. One day, he took my hand, and pressed it affectionately, as if to assure me of his friendship and protection. Though I knew him to be an adept in the art of dissimulation, yet his affected kindness appeared so natural, that I thought all his unfavourable feeling towards me was at an end. I spoke to persons by whom our two families were allied, requested that they would assure the emperor of the reciprocity of my sentiments, and tell him, that I was ready to assist his great plans in any way not hostile to the interests of Sweden.

" Would you believe, my dear friend, that the persons to whom I made these candid protestations, laughed at my credulity! They told me, that after the conversation, in which the emperor had so cordially pressed my hand, I had scarcely taken leave of him, when he was heard to say, that I had made a great display of my learning to him, and that he had humoured me like a child. He wished to inspire me with full confidence, so as to put me off my guard; and I know for a certainty that he had the design of arresting me.

" But," pursued Bernadotte, " in spite of the feeling of animosity which I know the emperor has cherished against me since the 18th Brumaire, I do not think, when once I shall be in Sweden, that he will wish to have any differences with the Swedish government. I must tell you also, he has given me two millions of francs in exchange for my principality of Ponte-Corvo. Half the sum has been already paid, which will be very useful to me in defraying the expenses of my journey and installation.*

* The other million stipulated in exchange for the principality of Ponte-Corvo was never paid to Bernadotte.

When I was about to step into my carriage to set off, an individual, of whom you must spare me the naming, came to bid me farewell, and related to me a little conversation which had just taken place at the Tuileries. Napoleon said to the individual in question, 'Well, does not the prince regret leaving France?'—'Certainly, Sire.'—'As to me, I should have been very glad if he had not accepted his election. But there is no help for it. . . . . He does not like me.'—'Sire, I must take the liberty of saying, that your majesty labours under a mistake. I know the differences which have existed between you and General Bernadotte for the last six years. I know how he opposed the overthrow of the Directory; but I also know that the prince has long been sincerely attached to you.'—'Well, I dare say you are right. But we have not understood each other. It is now too late. He has his interests and his policy, and I have mine.'

"Such," added the prince, "were the emperor's last observations respecting me two hours before my departure. The individual to whom I have just alluded, spoke truly, my dear Bourrienne. I am, indeed, sorry to leave France; and I never should have left it, but for the injustice of Bonaparte. If ever I ascend the throne of Sweden, I shall owe my crown to his ill-treatment of me; for had he not persecuted me by his animosity, my condition would have sufficed for a soldier of fortune: but we must follow our fate."

During the three days the prince spent with me, I had many other conversations with him. He wished me to give him my advice as to the course he should pursue with regard to the continental system. "I advise you," said I, "to reject the system without hesitation. It may be very fine in theory; but it is utterly impossible to carry it into practice, and it will, in the end, give the trade of the world to England. It excites the dissatisfaction of our allies, who, in spite of themselves, will again become our enemies. But no other country, except Russia, is in the situation of Sweden. You want a number of objects of the first necessity, which nature has withheld from you. You can only obtain them by perfect freedom of navigation; and you can only pay for them with those peculiar productions in which Sweden abounds. It would be out of all reason to close your ports against a nation who rules the seas. It is your navy that would be blockaded, not hers. What can France do against you? She may invade you by land. But England and Russia will exert all their efforts to oppose her. By sea it is still more impossible that she should do any thing. Then you have nothing to fear but Russia and England, and it will be easy for you to keep up friendly relations with those two powers. Take my advice; sell your iron, timber, leather, and pitch: take in return salt, wines, brandy, and colonial produce. This is the way to make yourself popular in Sweden. If, on the contrary, you follow the continental system, you will be obliged

to adopt laws against smuggling, which will draw upon you the detestation of the people."

Such was the advice which I gave to Bernadotte, when he was about to commence his new and brilliant career. In spite of my situation as a French minister, I could not have reconciled it to my conscience to give him any other counsel, for if diplomacy has duties so also has friendship. Bernadotte adopted my advice, and the King of Sweden has now no reason to regret having done so.

BATTLE OF WAGRAM.

"Early in the morning of the 9th, after despatching orders in various directions, Napoleon was taken rather seriously ill, in consequence of his fatigue and exertion. This circumstance compelled him to indulge in a little rest whilst the troops were advancing.

"Marshal Bernadotte came at that time to see the emperor, who had left orders that no one should disturb him until he called; I therefore refused to introduce the marshal, the object of whose visit was wholly unknown to me. I had witnessed the lukewarmness which his troops had evinced in the battle: ever since the opening of the campaign, he had been incessantly complaining of want of ardour in his troops, of their inexperience, and of their want of confidence in their leaders. I should therefore have exhausted every supposition before I could have imagined that contradicting on a sudden the unfavourable opinion he had given of their courage, he could ever dream that those troops had decided the victory we had just obtained. The emperor was soon made acquainted with that unaccountable order of the day; he sent for the marshal, and removed him from the command of his troops. This lesson was ineffectual; Bernadotte, who persisted in maintaining the justice of the ridiculous congratulations he had addressed to the Saxons, caused them to be inserted in the public papers. The emperor was indignant at this couduct; being at all times inflexibly severe against every impropriety of conduct and every act of falsehood; though he was unwilling, at the same time, to wound the feelings of men who had exposed their lives in his service. The insult, however, was such, that he felt it impossible to pass it by. He issued an order of the day, which he directed the major-general not to circulate, either amongst the army at large, or the Saxon troops, of which he had given the command to General Regnier.

"At one period of the engagement the enemy's right was taking up a position in a perpendicular line to our extreme left, and compelled us to give it the form of an angle for the purpose of returning the enemy's fire. They had placed some pieces of artillery in such a manner as to fire upon the angle or elbow, whilst they were cannonading us on both sides of the angle. I know not what was the emperor's object, but he remained a full hour at that angle, which was a perfect stream of shot; and as there was no fire of musketry kept up, the soldiers became discouraged. The emperor was more sensible than any one else that such a situation could not last long, and he remained

there for the purpose of remedying the disorder. In the height of the danger, he rode in front of the line upon a horse as white as snow (it was called the Euphrates, and had been sent to him as a present from the Sophi of Persia). He proceeded from one extremity of the line to the other, and returned at a slow pace; it will easily be believed that shots were flying about him in every direction. I kept behind, with my eyes rivetted upon him, expecting at every moment to see him drop from his horse.—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"The emperor ordered, that as soon as the opening which he intended to make in the enemy's centre should be effected, the whole cavalry should charge and wheel round upon all the troops that had penetrated to the extremity of our left. He had given directions, in consequence, to Marshal Bessières; and the latter had at that moment started to execute them, when he was knocked down by the most extraordinary cannon-shot ever seen. It ran in full sweep along the thigh, in a zigzag direction, as if it had been a thunderbolt; and the marshal was so suddenly thrown off his horse, that we fancied he was killed on the spot. The same shot forced the barrel from his pistol, and carried away both barrel and stock. The emperor saw him fall, but not having recognised him, asked, as he usually did on similar occasions, 'Who is it?'—'Bessières, sire,' was the reply. He instantly turned his horse round, saying, 'Let us go, I have no time to weep. Let us avoid another scene.' He alluded to the distress he had suffered at the death of Marshal Lannes. He sent me to see whether Bessières was still alive. He had been carried off the ground, and had recovered his senses, having merely been struck on the thigh, which was completely paralyzed."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"The inhabitants of Vienna had ascended to the ramparts and the roofs of the houses, from whence they witnessed the battle. In the morning the ladies of that city were flushed with the hope of our defeat. This hope was converted to general gloom towards two in the afternoon. They discerned the retreat of the Austrian army, as plainly as it could be seen on the field of battle."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"The emperor was going over the field of battle the same evening when intelligence was brought him of the death of General Lasalle, who had just been killed by one of the last musket-shots fired before the final retreat of the enemy. That general had had, in the morning, a strange presentiment of the fate that awaited him. The acquisition of glory had been an object of much greater solicitude to him than the advancement of his fortune; but, on the night previous to the battle, he seems to have had the fate of his children strongly impressed upon his mind, and he awoke to draw up a petition to the emperor in their behalf, which he placed in his sabre-tasche. When the emperor passed in the morning in front of his division, General Lasalle did not address him; but he stopped M. Maret, who was a few paces behind, and told him that, never having asked any favour of the emperor, he begged he would take charge of the petition which he then handed to him, in case any misfortune should befal him; a few hours afterwards he was no more."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"As Napoleon was going over the field of battle, he stopped on the ground which had been occupied by Macdonald's two divisions; it

exhibited the picture of a loss fully commensurate with the valour they had displayed. The emperor recognised amongst the slain a colonel who had given him some cause for displeasure. That officer, who had made the campaign of Egypt, had misbehaved after the departure of General Bonaparte, and proved ungrateful towards his benefactor, in hopes, no doubt, of insinuating himself into the good graces of the general who had succeeded him. On the return of the army of Egypt to France, the emperor, who had shown him many marks of kindness during the war in Italy, gave no signs of resentment, but granted him none of those favours which he heaped upon all those who had been in Egypt. The emperor now said, on seeing him stretched upon the field of battle, 'I regret not having been able to speak to him before the battle, in order to tell him that I had long since forgotten every thing.'

"A few steps further on, he discovered a young quarter-master of the regiment of carabineers still alive, although a shot had gone through his head; but the heat and dust had almost immediately congealed the blood, so that the brain could not be affected by the air. The emperor dismounted, felt his pulse, and, with his handkerchief, endeavoured to clear the nostrils, which were filled with earth. He then applied a little brandy to his lips; whereupon the wounded man opened his eyes, though he appeared at first to be quite insensible to the act of humanity exercised towards him; but having again opened them, and fixed them on the emperor, whom he now recognised, they immediately filled with tears, and he would have sobbed, had not his strength forsaken him. The wretched man could not escape death, according to the opinion of the surgeons who were called to his assistance.

"After having gone over the ground where the army had fought, the emperor went to place himself in the midst of the troops, which were beginning to move for the purpose of following the retreating enemy. On passing by Macdonald, he stopped, and held out his hand to him, saying, 'Shake hands, Macdonald! no more animosity between us: we must henceforward be friends; and, as a pledge of my sincerity, I will send you your marshal's staff, which you so gloriously earned in yesterday's battle.' Macdonald had been in a kind of disgrace for many years: it would be difficult to assign any reason for it, except the intrigue and jealousy to which an elevated mind is always exposed. Malevolence had succeeded in inducing the emperor to remove him from his presence; and his innate pride had withheld him from taking any step towards reconciliation with a sovereign who did not treat him with that kindness to which he felt he had a claim."—*Mèmoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"One evening, after the battle of Wagram, we were playing at *vingt-et-un*. Napoleon was very fond of this game; he used to try to cheat those he was playing with, and was much amused at the tricks he played. He had a great quantity of gold spread out upon the table before him. 'Rapp,' said he, 'are not the Germans very fond of these little Napoleons?'—'Yes, Sire, they like them much better than the great one.'—'That, I suppose,' said he, 'is what you call German frankness.' "—*Memoirs of General Rapp.*

CHAPTER XVI.

1810.

Bernadotte's departure from Hamburg—The Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg —Arrival of the crown prince in Sweden—Misunderstandings between him and Napoleon—Letter from Bernadotte to the emperor—Plot for kidnapping the Prince Royal of Sweden—Invasion of Swedish Pomerania—Forced alliance of Sweden with England and Russia—Napoleon's overtures to Sweden — Bernadotte's letter of explanation to the emperor—Distress in England—The Minerva—Colonel Burr—The Princess Royal of Sweden—My recal to Paris—Union of the Hanse Towns with France—Dissatisfaction of Russia—Extraordinary demand made upon me by Bonaparte—Fidelity of my old friends—Duroc and Rapp—Visit to Malmaison, and conversation with Josephine.

While Bernadotte was preparing to fill the high station to which he had been called by the unbiassed wishes of the people of Sweden, Napoleon was involved in his misunderstanding with the pope,* and in the affairs of Portugal, which were far from proceeding according to his wishes. Bernadotte had scarcely quitted Hamburg for Sweden, when the Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg arrived. The duke was the brother of the last Prince Royal of Sweden, whom Bernadotte was called

* It was about this time, that, irritated at what he called the captive pope's unreasonable obstinacy, Bonaparte conceived, and somewhat openly expressed his notion of making France a protestant country, and changing the religion of thirty millions of people by an imperial decree. One or two of the good sayings of the witty, accomplished, and chivalrous Count Louis de Narbonne, have already been given in the course of these volumes. The following is another of them :

"I tell you what I will do Narbonne—I tell you how I will vent my spite on this old fool of a pope, and the dotards who may succeed him," said Napoleon one day at the Tuileries. "I will make a schism as great as that of Luther—I will make France a protestant country!"

"Sire," replied the count, "I see difficulties in the way of this project. In the south, in the Vendée, in nearly all the west, the French are bigoted catholics, and even what little religion remains among us in our cities and great towns is of the Roman church."

"Never mind Narbonne—never mind! I shall at least carry a large portion of the French people with me—I will make a division."

"Sire," replied Narbonne, "I am afraid that there is not enough religion in all France to stand a division!"—*Editor.*

A DAY OF REVIEW UNDER THE EMPIRE, PLACE DU CARROUSEL, JUNE, 1810.

to succeed, and he came to escort his sister from Altona to Denmark. His journey had been retarded for some days, on account of the presence of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo in Hamburg: the preference granted to Bernadotte had mortified his ambition, and he was unwilling to come in contact with his fortunate rival. The duke was favoured by the Emperor of Russia.

As soon as he arrived in Sweden, Bernadotte directed his aide-de-camp, General Gentil-Saint-Alphonse, to inform me of his safe passage. Shortly after, I received a letter from Bernadotte himself, recommending one of his aides-de-camp, M. Villatte, who was the bearer of it. This letter contained the same sentiments of friendship as those I used to receive from General Bernadotte; and formed a contrast with the correspondence of King Jerome, who, when he wrote to me, assumed the regal character, and prayed that God would have me in his holy keeping. However, the following is the prince royal's letter:

My dear Bourrienne,

I have directed M. Villatte to see you on his way through Hamburg, and to bear my friendly remembrances to you. Gentil has addressed his letter to you, which I suppose you have already received. Adieu, and believe in the unalterable attachment of yours,

Charles John.

P.S.—I beg you will present my compliments to Madame, and all your family: embrace my little cousin for me.

The *little cousin,* so called by Bernadotte, was one of my daughters, then a child, whom Bernadotte used to be very fond of while he was at Hamburg.

Departing from the order of dates, I will here anticipate the future, and relate all I know respecting the real causes of the misunderstanding which arose between Bernadotte and Napoleon. Bonaparte viewed the choice of the Swedes with great displeasure, because he was well aware that Bernadotte had too much integrity and honour to serve him in the north as a political puppet, set in motion by means of strings which he might pull at Paris, or at his head-quarters. His dissatisfaction upon this point, occasioned an interesting correspondence, part of which, consisting of letters from Bernadotte to the emperor, is in my possession. The emperor had allowed Bernadotte to retain in his service, for a year at least, the French officers who were his aides-de-camp; but that permission was soon revoked, and the Prince Royal of Sweden wrote to Napoleon the following letter of remonstrance:

"At the moment when I was about to address my thanks to your Majesty for your kindness in continuing, during another year, the

permission you granted to the French officers who accompanied me to Sweden, I learn that your Majesty has revoked that favour. This unexpected disappointment, and, in fact, every thing that I learn from Paris indicates that your Majesty is not well disposed towards me. What have I done that deserves this treatment? I must look to calumny as the sole cause. In the new position in which fortune has placed me, I am, doubtless, likely to be more than ever exposed to calumny if I do not find a defender in the heart of your Majesty. Whatever may be said to you, Sire, I beg of you to believe that I have nothing to reproach myself with, and that I am entirely devoted to your person, not only by the strength of old ties, but by an unalterable affection. If the affairs of Sweden do not go on entirely as your Majesty wishes, it is solely owing to the constitution. It is not in the power of the king to control the constitution; still less is it in mine. In this country there are many separate interests to be united into one great national interest; there are four orders of the state to be amalgamated into one; and it is only by the most prudent and circumspect conduct, that I can hope one day to ascend the throne of Sweden. As M. Gentil de St. Alphonse returns to France, in conformity with your Majesty's orders, I commission him to deliver you this letter. Your Majesty may question him. He has seen every thing, and he will be able to explain to your Majesty how difficult is my situation. He can assure your Majesty how anxious I am to please you; and that I am in a state of continual perplexity between my new duties and the fear of displeasing you. I am grieved that your Majesty should withdraw the officers whose services you granted me for a year, but in obedience to your commands, I send them back to France. Perhaps your Majesty may be inclined to change your determination; in which case, I beg that you will, yourself, fix the number of officers you may think proper to send me. I shall receive them with gratitude. If, on the contrary, your Majesty should retain them in France, I recommend them to your favour. They have always served me well; and they have had no share in the rewards which were distributed after the last campaign.

Napoleon's dissatisfaction with the prince royal now changed to decided resentment. He repented having acceded to his departure from France, and he made no secret of his sentiments; for he said before his courtiers, "That he wished he had sent Bernadotte to Vincennes, to finish his study of the Swedish language." Bernadotte was informed of this; but he could not believe that the emperor had ever entertained such a design. *However, a conspiracy was formed in Sweden against Bernadotte, whom a party of foreign brigands were hired to kidnap in the neighbourhood of Haga;* but the plot was discovered, and the conspirators were compelled to embark without their prey.* The emperor having, at the same time, seized upon Swedish Pomerania, the prince royal wrote him a second letter in these terms:

* A Swedish gentleman has assured us that these brigands were in the pay of Bonaparte.—*Editor.*

From the papers which have just arrived, I learn that a division of the army, under the command of the Prince of Eckmuhl, invaded Swedish Pomerania on the night of the 26th of January; that the division continued to advance, entered the capital of the duchy, and took possession of the island of Rugen. The king expects that your Majesty will explain the reasons which have induced you to act in a manner so contrary to the faith of existing treaties. My old connexion with your Majesty, warrants me in requesting you to declare your motives without delay, in order that I may give my advice to the king as to the conduct which Sweden ought, hereafter, to adopt. This gratuitous outrage against Sweden is felt deeply by the nation; and still more, Sire, by me, to whom is intrusted the honour of defending it. Though I have contributed to the triumphs of France, though I have always desired to see her respected and happy; yet I can never think of sacrificing the interests, honour, and independence of the country which has adopted me. Your Majesty, who has so ready a perception of what is just, must admit the propriety of my resolution. Though I am not jealous of the glory and power which surrounds you, I cannot submit to the dishonour of being regarded as a vassal. Your Majesty governs the greatest part of Europe, but your dominion does not extend to the nation which I have been called to govern; my ambition is limited to the defence of Sweden. The effect produced upon the people by the invasion of which I complain, may lead to consequences which it is impossible to foresee; and although I am not a Coriolanus, and do not not command the Volsci, I have a sufficiently good opinion of the Swedes to assure you that they dare undertake any thing to avenge insults which they have not provoked, and to preserve rights to which they are as much attached as to their lives.

I was in Paris when the emperor received Bernadotte's letter on the occupation of Swedish Pomerania. When Bonaparte read it, I was informed that he flew into a violent rage, and even exclaimed, "You shall submit to your degradation, or die sword in hand!" But his rage was impotent. The unexpected occupation of Swedish Pomerania obliged the King of Sweden to come to a decided rupture with France, and to seek other allies; for Sweden was not strong enough in herself to maintain neutrality in the midst of the general conflagration of Europe, after the disastrous campaign of Moscow. The prince royal, therefore, declared to Russia and England, that in consequence of the unjust invasion of Pomerania, Sweden was at war with France, and he despatched Count de Lowenhjelm, the king's aide-de-camp, with a letter explanatory of his views. Napoleon sent many notes to Stockholm, where M. Alquier, his ambassador, according to his instructions, had maintained a haughty and even insulting tone towards Sweden. Napoleon's overtures after the manifestations of his anger, and after the attempt to carry off the prince royal, which could be attributed only to him, were considered by the prince royal merely as a snare. But in the hope of reconciling the duties he owed to both his old and his new country, he addressed to the emperor the following firm and moderate letter:

I have received some notes, the contents of which induce me to come to a candid explanation with your Majesty. When by the wish of the Swedish people I was called to the succession of the throne, I hoped, on quitting France, that I should always be able to reconcile my personal affections with the interests of my new country. My heart cherished the hope that I could identify myself with the affections of this people, and at the same time preserve the recollection of my early connexions, and never lose sight of the glory of France, nor of my sincere attachment to your Majesty, an attachment founded on our fraternity in arms, which was distinguished by so many great actions. Full of this hope I arrived in Sweden. I found a nation generally attached to France, but more jealous of their own liberty and laws; anxious for your friendship, Sire, but not wishing to purchase it at the expense of honour and independence. Your Majesty's ambassador thought proper to disregard this national feeling, and has ruined all by his arrogance. His communications bore no trace of the respect due from one crowned head to another. In fulfilling, according to the dictates of his own passions, your Majesty's intentions, Baron Alquier spoke like a Roman proconsul, forgetting that he did not address himself to slaves. This ambassador was the cause of the distrust which Sweden began to entertain respecting your Majesty's intentions, and which subsequent events were calculated to confirm. I have already had the honour, Sire, in my letters of November 19, and December 8, 1810, to make your Majesty acquainted with the situation of Sweden, and her wish to find a protector in your Majesty. She could only attribute your Majesty's silence to an unmerited indifference, and it became her duty to take precautions against the storm which was ready to burst upon the continent. Sire, mankind have already suffered too much; during twenty years the world has been deluged with blood, and all that is necessary to raise your Majesty's glory to the highest pitch, is to put a period to these disasters. If your Majesty wishes the king should give the Emperor Alexander to understand that there is a possibility of reconciliation, I have sufficient faith in the magnanimity of that monarch to venture to assure you, that he will readily listen to overtures which would be at once equitable for your empire and for the North. If an event so unexpected, and so generally desired, should take place, what blessings would the people of the continent invoke for your Majesty! Their gratitude would be increased in proportion to the fear now entertained of the return of a scourge which has already made such cruel ravages. One of the happiest moments I have known since I quitted France, was that in which I was assured that your Majesty had not entirely forgotten me. You have truly divined my sentiments. You have perceived how deeply they would be wounded by the painful prospect of either seeing the interests of Sweden separated from those of France, or of finding myself compelled to sacrifice the interests of a country by which I have been adopted with such unlimited confidence. Sire, although a Swede by the obligations of honour, duty, and religion; yet by feeling, I am still identified with France, my native country, which I have always faithfully served from my boyhood. Every step I take in Sweden, and the homage I receive here, revive those recollections of glory to which I chiefly

owe my elevation, and I cannot disguise from myself the fact, that Sweden, in choosing me, intended to pay a tribute of esteem to the French people.

This letter throws great light on the conduct of the emperor with respect to Bernadotte; for Napoleon was not the man whom any one whatever would have ventured to remind of facts, the accuracy of which was in the least degree questionable. Such then were the relations between Napoleon and the Prince Royal of Sweden. When I shall bring to light some curious secrets, which have hitherto been veiled beneath the mysteries of the restoration, it will be seen by what means Napoleon, before his fall, again sought to wreak his vengeance upon Bernadotte.

In December, 1810, the misery which had previously prevailed on the continent, began to be felt in England. Some Hamburg merchants received a letter from London, which was communicated to me, and from which I copied the following passage:—"We are in a very distressing situation. Discontent affects all classes, and threatens to become general. Our trade still keeps up, but it is attended only with loss, to which must be added embarrassments on the Exchange. The affairs of the Baltic have cost our merchants immense sums. Every one wishes for a change." This information was exactly that which pleased Bonaparte: for nothing gratified him so much as the idea of difficulties felt on the London exchange, which he attributed to his admirable continental system.

On the 6th of December I received a letter from the minister for foreign affairs, communicating the emperor's complaints respecting a monthly journal printed at Hamburg, under the title of The Minerva, which had a great circulation in Germany, and other parts of the north. My attention was directed to the number for October, amongst others, which I was sharply reprimanded for having allowed to appear. That number really contained nothing which could justify the least censure on me. The Minerva, so far from being hostile to the emperor, had by my care, become a French journal in opinion and principles. The paper had formerly been conducted by M. Archenholtz, who had been a captain in the Prussian service. He was infected with Anglo-mania, and was inclined to fill the publication with articles in unison with his prejudices. During the four years that he had the management of the Minerva, I had great difficult in preventing him from gratifying his taste in that way. However I sometimes succeeded in obtaining the insertion of articles favourable to France and her system. I at length prevailed upon M. Archenholtz to resign the management of the Minerva to M. Bran, a young man of considerable talent, whose sentiments were very favourable to France. When the emperor's complaints were forwarded to me, M. Bran had been editor of

the Minerva for about a year, and it was quite impossible that the publication could at that time have contained any objectionable article; on the contrary, the spirit in which the Minerva was conducted continually exposed M. Bran to the attacks of the partisans of England.

At the height of his glory and power, Bonaparte was so suspicious, that the veriest trifle sufficed to alarm him. I recollect, that about the time the complaints were made respecting the Minerva, Colonel Burr, formerly Vice-President of the United States, who had recently arrived at Altona, was pointed out to me as a dangerous man, and I received orders to watch him very closely, and even to arrest him on the slightest ground of suspicion, if he should come to Hamburg. Colonel Burr was one of those in favour of whom I ventured to disobey the orders I received from the restless police of Paris. As soon as the minister of the police heard of his arrival at Altona, he directed me to adopt towards him those vigilant measures which are equivalent to persecution. In answer to these instructions, I stated that Colonel Burr conducted himself at Altona with much prudence and propriety; that he kept but little company; and that he was scarcely spoken of. Far from regarding him as a man who required watching, having learned that he wished to go to Paris, I caused a passport to be procured for him, which he was to receive at Frankfort, and I never heard that this dangerous citizen had endangered the safety of the state in any way.

On the 4th of December, I had the honour to see the Princess Royal of Sweden, who arrived that day at Hamburg.* She

* Madame Bernadotte, *puis* Princess Royal of Sweden, and now Queen of Sweden, was a Mademoiselle Clary, and younger sister to the wife of Joseph Bonaparte: hence the relationship with Bonaparte of which Bernadotte speaks. Monsieur Clary, the father of these two queens, was a very respectable merchant at Marseilles. The following anecdote we have had from a near connexion of the family. At a humble stage of his fortunes Napoleon sought the hand of Madame Bernadotte, his brother Joseph having already married her elder sister. But Monsieur Clary would not hear of the match. "*Pas de tout*—No, no," said he, "one poor Bonaparte in my family is quite enough!" Joseph, the to-be-hereafter King of Naples, and of Spain and the Indies, was then fagging in Clary's counting-house at invoices and bills of sales! It was some years later that Bernadotte obtained the hand of the young lady which had been refused to Napoleon. Madame Bernadotte (we speak from personal knowledge) was, even when she had become *a queen*, a kind-hearted, amiable woman, with a few eccentricities of character and conduct. The reader may find a very interesting sketch of her Swedish Majesty in the Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantès.

In the operatic company of the theatre San-Carlo, at Naples, there was a poor French *danseuse*, sufficiently *passée* and miserable, who, in the vicissitudes of time and fortune, had almost sunk into the subordinate rank of a mere *figurante*. Some quarter of a century before the time when we first knew her, this woman had been the much-loved mistress of the King of Sweden—then Lieutenant Bernadotte of the French republican army. In the ardour of his affection Bernadotte proposed marriage; but the condition and prospects of the parties were considered by Mademoiselle as too unequal. "No, no," said she, "I am im-

merely passed through the city on her way to Stockholm, to join her husband. She remained but a short time in Sweden, two months I believe, at most, not being able to reconcile herself to the ancient Scandinavia. As to the prince royal, he soon became inured to the climate, having been for many years employed in the north. After this, my stay at Hamburg was not of long duration. Bonaparte's passion for territorial aggrandizement knew no bounds, and the turn of the Hanse Towns now arrived. By taking possession of those towns and territories, he merely accomplished a design formed long previously. I, however, was recalled with many complaints, and under the specious pretext that the emperor wished to hear my opinions respecting the country in which I had been residing. At the beginning of December, I received a letter from M. de Champagny, stating that the emperor wished to see me, in order to consult with me upon different things relating to Hamburg. In this note I was told "that the information I had obtained respecting Hamburg and the north of Germany might be useful to the public interest, which must be the most gratifying reward of my labours." The reception which awaited me will presently be seen. The conclusion of the letter spoke in very flattering terms of the manner in which I had discharged my duties. I received it on the 8th of December, and next day I set out for Paris. When I arrived at Mentz I was enabled to form a correct idea of the fine compliments which had been paid me, and of the emperor's anxiety to have my opinion respecting the Hanse Towns. In Mentz I met the courier, who was proceeding to announce the union of the Hanse Towns with the French empire. I confess, that notwithstanding the experience I had acquired of Bonaparte's duplicity, or rather, of the infinite multiplicity of his artifices, he completely took me by surprise on that occasion.

On my arrival in Paris, I did not see the emperor; but the first Moniteur I read contained the formula of a senatus con-

proving—I am getting on in my profession—I may make a fortune, and you, *cher* Bernadotte, though a good fellow enough, are only a *pauvre soldat*." We have heard Mademoiselle say twenty times, "*Voilà ce que c'est que le destin!* (Only see what is destiny!) At this hour I might have been Queen of Sweden, instead of being obliged to kick my heels about here for fifteen ducats a month!"* The story was universally known at Naples, and her companions on the boards almost invariably called her, in fun, the Queen of Sweden, or, Your Majesty.

Don Domenico Barbaja, the *impresario* or manager of San-Carlo's, was a man of hasty temper, and rather coarse tongue. One morning, during the *pruova* of a new grand ballet, as poor Mademoiselle was not at her post in proper time, he was heard roaring through the *coulisses*, "*Dov' è quella p— la regina di Svezia?* (Where is that w— the Queen of Sweden?)" We left her majesty at Naples in the year 1827.

The whole story would have been an incident for Candide, or the best of Voltaire's cynical novels.—*Editor.*

* Fifteen Neapolitan ducats are about 2*l.* 10*s.* English.—*Editor.*

sultum, which united the Hanse Towns, Lauenburg, &c. to the French empire by the right of the strongest. This new and important augmentation of territory could not fail to give uneasiness to Russia. Alexander manifested his dissatisfaction by prohibiting the importation of our agricultural produce and manufactures into Russia. Finally, as the continental system had destroyed all trade by the ports of the Baltic, Russia showed herself more favourable to the English, and gradually reciprocal complaints of bad faith led to that war, whose unfortunate issue was styled by M. Talleyrand "the beginning of the end."

I have now to make the reader acquainted with an extraordinary demand made upon me by the emperor through the medium of M. de Champagny. In one of my first interviews with that minister, after my return to Paris, he thus addressed me: "The emperor has intrusted me with a commission to you, which I am obliged to execute. 'When you see Bourrienne,' said the emperor, 'tell him I wish him to pay six millions into your chest to defray the expense of building the new office for foreign affairs.'" I was so astonished at this unfeeling and inconsiderate demand, that I was utterly unable to make any reply. This then was my recompence for having obtained money and supplies during my residence at Hamburg, to the extent of nearly ten millions, by which his treasury and army had profited in moments of difficulty! M. de Champagny added, that the emperor did not wish to receive me. He asked what answer he should bear to his majesty. I still remained silent, and the minister again urged me to give an answer. "Well, then," said I, "tell him he may go to the devil:" The minister naturally wished to obtain some variation from this laconic answer; but I would give no other; and I afterwards learned that M. de Champagny was compelled to communicate it to Napoleon. "Well," asked the latter, "have you seen Bourrienne?"—"Yes, sire." "Did you tell him I wished him to pay six millions into your chest?"—"Yes, sire,"—"And what did he say?"—"Sire, I dare not inform your majesty. . . . ."—"What did he say? I insist upon knowing."—"Since you insist on my telling you, sire, M. de Bourrienne said your majesty might go to the devil." —"Ah! ah! did he really say so!" The emperor then retired to the recess of a window, where he remained alone for seven or eight minutes, biting his nails, and doubtless giving free scope to his projects of vengeance. He then turned to the minister, and spoke to him of quite another subject. Bonaparte had so nursed himself in the idea of making me pay the six millions, that every time he passed the office for foreign affairs, he said to those who accompanied him, "Bourrienne must pay for that after all."

Having thus fallen into the quietude of private life, I had time to amuse myself with my reflections and observations, and the

ENGRAVED BY H. DAVIDSON.

FROM THE PAINTING BY ANTOINE-LOUIS GROS, IN THE COLLECTION OF THE PRINCE OF WAGRAM.

LOUIS-ALEXANDRE BERTHIER, PRINCE OF NEUFCHÂTEL AND OF WAGRAM.

details I received from my friends respecting Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa, which had taken place during my absence at Hamburg. Let any one place himself in my situation and he will understand all that flitted through my mind on seeing an old schoolfellow who had begun life under circumstances not at all superior to my own, hurried onward by fate, and becoming son-in-law to the Emperor of Germany! Berthier had been sent to Vienna to espouse, by proxy, the new Empress of the French: before his mission M. de Laborde, an absent-minded man, and a chamberlain of Bonaparte, had been charged with the first overtures of that marriage, at a moment when Napoleon had hardly settled in his own mind whether he would throw the handkerchief to a princess of the house of Saxony, or of Russia, or of Austria.

During my residence at Hamburg I knew some of these proceedings, but, in a sufficiently vague manner, being obliged to occupy my mind with things more directly important for myself. Even then, however, I was deeply afflicted at all the excellent Josephine must have to suffer, in the accomplishment of a cruel destiny she had long foreseen. When every thing was agreed upon with the court of Vienna, which has given so many queens to France, and nearly always with ill-fortune for their dowry, Berthier arranged the ceremony of the transmission of the person of the empress Maria Louisa, which took place near Braunau.*

Though I was not admitted to the honour of sharing the splendour of the imperial court, yet I had the satisfaction of finding, that in spite of my disgrace, those of my old friends who were worth any thing, evinced the same regard for me as heretofore. I often saw Duroc, who snatched some moments from his more serious occupations to come and chat with me respecting all that had occurred since my secession from Bonaparte's cabinet. I shall not attempt to give a verbatim account of my conversations with Duroc, as I have only my memory to guide me; but I believe I shall not depart from the truth, in describing them as follows:

On his return from the last Austrian campaign, Napoleon, as I have already stated, proceeded to Fontainebleau, where he was joined by Josephine.† Then, for the first time, the communication which had always existed between the apartments of the husband and wife was closed. Josephine was fully alive to the fatal prognostics which were to be deduced from this conjugal separation. Duroc informed me that she sent for him, and on entering her chamber he found her bathed in tears. "I am lost!" she exclaimed in a tone of voice, the remembrance

* In these ceremonials the etiquette of Louis XIV., when he received for his wife an Infanta of Spain, was rather closely copied.—*Editor.*

† See Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantès (Madame Junot.)—*Editor.*

of which seemed sensibly to affect Duroc, even while relating the circumstance to me: "I am utterly lost! all is over now! You, Duroc, I know have always been my friend, and so has Rapp. It is not you who have persuaded him to part from me. This is the work of my enemies, Savary and Junot! But they are more his enemies than mine. And my poor Eugène! how will he be distressed, when he learns I am repudiated by an ungrateful man!. . . . .Yes, Duroc, I may truly call him ungrateful . . . .My God! my God! what will become of us!". . . . . Josephine sobbed bitterly, while she thus addressed Duroc.

Before I was made acquainted with the singular demand which M. de Champagny was instructed to make to me, I requested Duroc to inquire of the emperor his reason for not wishing to see me. The grand marshal faithfully executed my commission, but he received only the following answer: "Do you think I have nothing better to do than to give Bourrienne an audience? that would indeed furnish gossip for Paris and Hamburg. He has always sided with the emigrants; he would be talking to me of past times; he was for Josephine!—My wife, Duroc, is near her confinement; I shall have a son, I am sure! . . . . Bourrienne is not a man of the day: I have made giant strides since he left France; in short, I do not want to see him. He is a grumbler by nature; and you know, my dear Duroc, I do not like men of that sort."

I had not been above a week in Paris, when Duroc related this speech to me. Rapp was not in France at the time, to my great regret. Much against his inclination he had been appointed to some duties connected with the imperial marriage ceremonies; but, shortly after, having given offence to Napoleon, by some observation relating to the Faubourg St. Germain, he had received orders to repair to Dantzic, of which place he had already been governor.

The emperor's refusal to see me made my situation in Paris extremely delicate; and I was at first in doubt whether I might seek an interview with Josephine. Duroc, however, having assured me that Napoleon would have no objection to it, I wrote requesting permission to wait upon her. I received an answer the same day, and on the morrow I repaired to Malmaison. I was ushered into the tent drawing-room, where I found Josephine and Hortense. When I entered, Josephine stretched out her hand to me, saying, "Ah! my friend!" These words she pronounced with deep emotion, and tears prevented her from continuing. She threw herself on the ottoman on the left of the fireplace, and beckoned me to sit down beside her. Hortense stood by the fireplace, endeavouring to conceal her tears. Josephine took my hand, which she pressed in both her own; and, after a struggle to overcome her feelings, she said, "My dear Bourrienne, I have drained my cup of misery. He has

cast me off! forsaken me! He conferred upon me the vain title of empress, only to render my fall the more marked. Ah! we judged him rightly! I knew the destiny that awaited me; for what would he not sacrifice to his ambition!" As she finished these words, one of Queen Hortense's ladies entered with a message to her: Hortense stayed a few moments, apparently to recover from the emotion under which she was labouring, and then withdrew, so that I was left alone with Josephine. She seemed to wish for the relief of disclosing her sorrows, which I was curious to hear from her own lips; women have such a striking way of telling their distresses.

Josephine confirmed what Duroc had told me respecting the two apartments at Fontainebleau; then, coming to the period when Bonaparte had declared to her the necessity of a separation, she said, "My dear Bourrienne, during all the years you were with us, you know I made you the confident of my thoughts, and kept you acquainted with my sad forebodings. They are now cruelly fulfilled. I acted the part of a good wife to the very last. I have suffered all, and I am resigned! . . . . .What fortitude did it require latterly to endure my situation, when, though no longer his wife, I was obliged to seem so in the eyes of the world! With what eyes do courtiers look upon a repudiated wife! I was in a state of vague uncertainty worse than death, until the fatal day when he at length avowed to me what I had long before read in his looks! On the 30th of November, 1809, we were dining together as usual, I had not uttered a word during that sad dinner, and he had broken silence only to ask one of the servants what it was o'clock. As soon as Bonaparte had taken his coffee, he dismissed all the attendants, and I remained alone with him. I saw in the expression of his countenance what was passing in his mind; and I knew that my hour was come. He stepped up to me—he was trembling, and I shuddered: he took my hand, pressed it to his heart, and after gazing at me for a few moments in silence, he uttered these fatal words: 'Josephine! my dear Josephine! You know how I have loved you!. . . .To you, to you alone, I owe the only moments of happiness I have tasted in this world. But, Josephine, my destiny is not to be controlled by my will. My dearest affections must yield to the interests of France.'—'Say no more,' I exclaimed, 'I understand you: I expected this, but the blow is not the less mortal.' I could not say another word," continued Josephine; "I know not what happened after. I seemed to lose my reason; I became insensible, and when I recovered I found myself in my chamber. Your friend Corvisart, and my poor daughter were with me. Bonaparte came to see me in the evening; and oh! Bourrienne, how can I describe to you what I felt at the sight of him; even the interest he evinced for me seemed an additional cruelty. Alas! I had good reason to fear ever becoming an empress!"

I knew not what consolation to offer to Josephine; and knowing, as I did, the natural lightness of her character, I should have been surprised to find her grief so acute, after the lapse of a year, had I not been aware that there are certain chords, which, when struck, do not speedily cease to vibrate in the heart of a woman. I sincerely pitied Josephine, and among all the things I said to assuage her sorrow, the consolation to which she appeared most sensible, was the reprobation which public opinion had pronounced on Bonaparte's divorce, and on this subject I said nothing but the truth, for Josephine was generally beloved. I reminded her of a prediction I had made under happier circumstances, viz., on the day when she came to visit us in our little house at Ruel: "My dear friend," said she, "I have not forgotten it, and I have often thought of all you then said. For my part, I knew he was lost from the day he made himself emperor. Adieu! Bourrienne, come and see me soon again; come often, for we have a great deal to talk about, you know how happy I always am to see you." Such was, to the best of my recollection, what passed at my first interview with Josephine, after my return from Hamburg.

CHAPTER XVII.

1811.

Arrest of La Sahla—My visit to him—His account of himself, and explanation of the reasons that urged him to attempt the life of Napoleon—His confinement at Vincennes—Subsequent history of La Sahla—His second journey to France—Detonating powder—Plot hatched against me by the Prince of Eckmuhl—Friendly offices of the Duke de Rovigo—Bugbears of the police.

In describing the attempt on the life of Napoleon at Schœnbrunn, I mentioned that I should have to relate other facts of the same kind. One of these I have now to notice.

I had been in Paris about two months when young La Sahla, who arrived on the 16th of February, 1811, was arrested on the Tuesday following, on suspicion of having come from Saxony to attempt the life of the emperor. La Sahla informed the Duke de Rovigo, then minister of the police, that he wished to see me, assigning, as a reason for this, the reputation I had left behind me in Germany. The emperor, I presume, had no objection to the interview, for I received an invitation to visit the prisoner. I accordingly repaired to the supernumerary-office of the minister of the police, in the Rue des Saint-Pères, where I was introduced to a young man between seventeen and eighteen years of

age. M. Desmarets was with him. La Sahla received me very politely, and said he wished to speak with me. I expressed a wish to be left alone with him, and declared that I would immediately retire, if there was any intention of converting the interview into a judicial interrogatory. Young La Sahla also declared, that he wished to speak with me in private. M. Desmarets immediately withdrew.

After discoursing a little with La Sahla respecting the university of Leipzig, where he had studied, the different professors who had died since I was there, and those by whom they had been succeeded, I turned the conversation on his journey to Paris. "How," said I, "could you, who are a member of a family of rank, and who have received an excellent education, conceive the design which, it is said, has brought you to Paris? Speak to me without fear or reserve; and tell me what have been the events of your past life." In answer to these questions, La Sahla related the following particulars. His manner was cool and collected; but his occasional fits of enthusiasm, when he alluded to Germany, involuntarily excited my interest. "About fifteen months ago," said he, "I was studying at the University of Leipzig. I associated but little with my fellow-students, because their dissipated habits did not suit my taste, and because, moreover, I was frequently ill (the young man's appearance, indeed, denoted infirm health). I applied myself, particularly, to the study of law, history, and the oriental languages. As my health prevented me from attending the public courses of lectures, I engaged the professors to come to me. My father died about nine years ago. My mother, though not rich, is in easy circumstances: she allowed me 1300 German crowns per year, and I received a further allowance from some other relatives. I began to hate Napoleon, after having heard a sermon by M. Reinhard, the Lutheran preacher, at Dresden. In that sermon, which was delivered after the battle of Jena, Napoleon, without being precisely named, was clearly alluded to, and the preacher compared him to Nero. The miseries which Germany suffered after the battle of Jena, afflicted me more and more; and this state of my feelings was increased by a perusal of the work of Villers, entitled "A Letter to Madame Fanny Beauharnais, upon the taking of Lubeck." While I was at Leipzig, I heard mention of the conscription, and of the attempt of Staps (here his countenance betrayed a wildness of expression), and of the extinction of the states of my country. I saw the English merchandise burned. This act of stupid tyranny affected me violently. When I saw trade annihilated, and desolation and despair spreading every where, I determined to kill Bonaparte, who was the author of all these evils. I was not to have left Leipzig until six months later than I did. But I reflected that, if I executed my project before the delivery of the empress, I should be the more secure of success; for I

thought, if the empress should present Napoleon with a son, the French would probably be more attached to his dynasty; and a revolution in the empire could not be so positively counted upon. I therefore hastened my departure, and practised firing pistols, at which I became very expert. I also turned Catholic, because the pope having excommunicated Napoleon, it became a meritorious act in the eyes of God to kill him; and besides I knew that, by turning Catholic, I should meet with more support amongst the Catholics in general. A second motive induced me to embrace this religion, namely, I had observed that the countries in which it prevailed were more united than others, and not so easily influenced by their neighbours. I eagerly read the book entitled 'Theobald's Goilhraht,' which treats of this subject (the author is an illuminato), and the writings of John Muller, on the freedom of Germany. I made several extracts from these works, which will be found in my desk at Leipzig. Six weeks before my departure, I devoted myself to dissipation and pleasure, in order to deceive my comrades, and to make them suppose a motive for my departure, without the authority of my friends."

After these first confessions of La Sahla, I could not help feeling wonder, not unmixed with horror, that such calculations should have entered into so young a mind. How, indeed, could I fail to be struck with the resemblance to the first Brutus, who feigned idiotcy to free Rome from the yoke of the Tarquins, as La Sahla had affected dissipation to liberate Germany from the yoke of Napoleon. I asked him what he had done from the moment when he had resolved to leave Germany, and proceed to Paris. He replied, "On the eve of my departure for Frankfort, I sent my servant to Dresden, that I might have no embarrassment during my journey. He was the bearer of a letter to my uncle. Unfortunately he could not obtain a conveyance, and he returned home, where he found me making preparations for a journey, and evidently a long one. I believe it was this man who betrayed me. However, at that moment I felt no uneasiness, because I had stated that I was only going to Mentz to be confirmed. I arrived in Paris without being discovered. I had five pistols of different sizes."

"How," inquired I, "did you employ yourself from the period of your arrival in Paris, until you were arrested?" He answered, "From the 16th of February, when I arrived, I spent five hours every day at the Tuileries. I dined at Very's. Last Wednesday I saw the emperor walking in a saloon looking on the garden. The window was open, and he sometimes approached it. I thought of firing at him; but a person passing, to whom I expressed a wish to have a nearer view of Napoleon, having told me that he would probably come down into the garden, I waited. But the emperor did not appear. I reckoned on executing my project in different ways, according to circumstances: when he

should be stepping into his carriage; or in the gardens of the Tuileries, where he sometimes walks with Duroc; or at mass; or at the Théâtre Français. The distance at which I should be from him at chapel presented no obstacle, because it would not be so great as that which separated his box from the opposite one at the Théâtre Français. I had measured it, and it did not exceed thirty paces. I had a pistol, with which I could easily have hit my mark at that distance. It was at the theatre that I had the strongest expectation of effecting my object. By resting my hand on the front of the box, and firing twice, I could not possibly miss him. I saw a pistol with four barrels, at the Palais Royal; but it did not appear to me sufficiently convenient and sure. I was not deceived as to the fate which awaited me. I knew I should be massacred on the spot. But what did I care for life! If Staps had despised it as I do, Napoleon would not now be in existence, for he had the good fortune to get near him; but he trembled. I do not fear death. I firmly believe in predestination. If I am doomed to die in two days, nothing can save me: if I am not fated to die in that time, my life is secure.* I was always aware that the success of my undertaking was not infallible. I have read that twenty-three attempts were made to assassinate Henry IV., and that the twenty-fourth was successful. And yet Henry IV. was beloved, and did not adopt precautions. Napoleon, on the contrary, is much on his guard, and he is hated. We may therefore suppose that forty attempts must be made on his life before one can succeed. It may be thought that this consideration ought to have deterred me; but no. For, if his life has been attempted six times before, I have hazarded the seventh. That is one chance more for those who may follow me, and one less for Napoleon. This is so much gained. What signifies the life of a man in comparison with the great results which would arise from the emperor's death!" I asked whether he had any accomplices. To which he replied, "None. I communicated my design to no one; but if it please God, the bond of virtue which unites the youth of Germany in the same love of liberty, will raise up successors to me. I do not expect any from Saxony: the students of Leipzig are base and dissolute; but from Westphalia, where the people are unhappy and discontented; from the Hanse Towns; from Italy, and Spain, some one must succeed in the end."—"Were you not deterred," said I, "by the thought of the grief into which your rash act would plunge your family?"—"Family considerations," he replied, "must yield to the great interests of the liberty of one's country. I know that my mother and sister will be reduced to despair; but what signify women's tears when the deliverance of Germany is to be achieved. By Napoleon's death Germany would recover

* What a singular coincidence between this reasoning and that of El Coraim, the Sheriff of Alexandria. (See vol. i. of these Memoirs.)

her laws and sovereigns—the hateful French dominion would cease—the Code Napoleon would be no longer the law of her people. All this must happen, because, if we succeed in killing Napoleon—and we *will* succeed—Bernadotte, who is much beloved by the French, will be recalled from Sweden, and he will evacuate Germany; or if he be not recalled, the marshals will dispute for the empire, and we shall see the history of Alexander's successors renewed. Then Germany will be free and happy; but as long as France is united and tranquil, Germany will be oppressed.

"This was my design. I repeat that no private considerations influenced me, that I have communicated my secret to no one, and that I have no accomplices. I thought of neither mother, sister, nor relatives, of no nobility, or privileges. I am bent on one thing, the deliverance of Germany from the French yoke. To this great idea I have sacrificed every thing. My attempt has failed. I love life; but do not fear death; and if I were told that I must die in five minutes, I should receive the intelligence with indifference."

Such was the language which this young man held. I was particularly struck with his last observation, "I love life, but do not fear death." It was at once characteristic of the love of life peculiar to youth, and of that calm courage, superior to the vapouring of those who boast of being able to meet death without regret.

I wrote down La Sahla's answers to my interrogatories, and when I afterwards read them to him he declared them to be correct. As may well be supposed, my conversation with the young man, whose uncle was, I believe, minister to the King of Saxony, interested me greatly in his behalf; I determined if possible, to save La Sahla, and I succeeded. I proceeded immediately to the Duke de Rovigo, and I easily convinced him, that under the circumstances of the case, it was highly important to make it be believed that the young man was insane. I observed, that if he were brought before a court, he would repeat all that he had stated to me, and probably enter into still further disclosures, which might instigate fresh attempts at assassination. Perhaps an avenger of La Sahla might rise up amongst the students of Leipzig. These reasons, together with others, founded on the singular confession of the young fanatic, had the success I hoped for. The emperor afterwards acknowledged the prudent course which had been adopted respecting La Sahla, when speaking at St. Helena of the conspiracies against his life, he said, "I carefully concealed all that I could." La Sahla's was certainly one of those to which he had reason to congratulate himself on not having given unnecessary publicity.

I will now state all that has since come to my knowledge respecting the fate of young La Sahla. In conformity with my advice, he was sent to Vincennes, where he remained until the

end of March, 1814. He was then removed to the castle of Saumur, from which he was liberated at the beginning of April. I had heard nothing of him for three years, when one day, shortly after the restoration, whilst sitting at breakfast with my family, at my house in the Rue Hauteville, I heard an extraordinary noise in the antechamber, and before I had time to ascertain its cause, I found myself in the arms of a young man, who embraced me with extraordinary ardour. It was La Sahla. He was in a transport of gratitude and joy at his liberation, and at the accomplishment of the events which he had wished to accelerate by assassination. La Sahla returned to Saxony, and I saw no more of him; but while I was in Hamburg in 1815, whither I was sent by Louis XVIII., I learned, that on the 5th of June a violent explosion was heard in the chamber of representatives at Paris, which was at first supposed to be a clap of thunder, but was soon ascertained to have been occasioned by a young Saxon having fallen with a packet of detonating powder in his pocket.

On receiving this intelligence, I imagined, I know not why, that this young Saxon was La Sahla, and that he had probably intended to blow up Napoleon and even the legislative body; but I have since ascertained that I was under a mistake as to his intentions. My knowledge of La Sahla's candour, induces me to believe the truth of his declarations to the police: and if there be any inaccuracies in the report of those declarations, I do not hesitate to attribute them to the police itself, of which Fouché was the head at the period in question. The following is the account of the event above mentioned, which appears to be accurate, with the exception of the conclusion:

"During the sitting of the chamber of representatives, about half-past one o'clock, a violent explosion took place, which was at first supposed to be a clap of thunder. The following are the particulars connected with the circumstance: A Saxon, about twenty-eight years of age who is said to belong to a family of distinction, had in his coat-pocket about four ounces of detonating powder. He had come in a coach to the chamber of the legislative body. He entered the hall, but left it soon after, and at the corner of the Rue de Burgogne his foot slipped, and he fell upon the packet of detonating powder. A violent explosion was the consequence; his coat and pantaloons were torn, and himself dreadfully mutilated. None of the passers by were hurt. He was conveyed in this state to the prefecture of the police, where he was interrogated. He described himself to be Baron La Sahla, and is, we are told, of a rich and distinguished family.

"Some years since, he came to France, with the intention of assassinating or poisoning the emperor. He was arrested and confined at first in the fortress of Vincennes, and afterwards removed to the castle of Saumur. Shortly after the entrance of the allies into Paris he was liberated, and returned to his own country. The emperor having re-ascended the throne, he determined to return to France. The cause of his fresh arrest has been stated. The following is his defence: He does not deny having formerly entertained the design of killing the

emperor, whom he regarded as the oppressor of Germany; but that oppression having ceased, his feelings of hatred towards the author have also disappeared. The spoliations committed upon Saxony by the congress, and particularly by the Prussians, exasperated him greatly against the latter, and when he heard of the emperor's landing, and the fortunate issue of his enterprise, he beheld in him, henceforth, the liberator of his unfortunate country, and he wished to render him all the service in his power. He therefore determined to return to France. He requested an audience of M. Hardenberg, and having obtained it, he pretended to be more than ever bent on his former plan of assassinating Napoleon. M. Hardenberg, after praising his good intentions, referred him to Marshal Blucher, whom he requested to furnish him with the means of proceeding to France. Marshal Blucher's head-quarters were then at Namur, and the chief officer of his staff, who gave La Sahla a passport, advised him, with a view of facilitating his enterprise, to carry with him some detonating powder, and mentioned a shopkeeper at Namur of whom he could procure it. In order to avoid exciting suspicion, La Sahla went himself to the dealer, and purchased only four ounces of the fulminating powder. He then proceeded to France, and on his arrival in Paris, he instantly communicated to the government all the information he had acquired respecting the forces of the allies, their plans, their resources, &c. By endeavouring to serve France he believed that he was serving his own country. The police was satisfied that M. de La Sahla had communicated to the government some very valuable details, both political and military. He also informed the war minister that he had brought with him a little packet of detonating powder, and offered, it is said, to give it up; but it seems that no one was inclined to receive the dangerous deposit. Being asked the reason why he carried the powder about him, he replied that he did not wish to have it at the hotel where he lodged, for fear that any person should touch it, and occasion some accident. He is further said to have given M. Metternich proofs that M. Stein, the Prussian minister, had urged him to poison M. de Mongelas, the Bavarian minister, and that M. Metternich appeared indignant and horror-struck at M. Stein's conduct. If these declarations be true, it must be acknowledged that some members of the Prussian cabinet then resorted to diplomatic measures of a very extraordinary nature."

There is an evident error in the above report respecting the age of M. La Sahla, who, in 1815, could not be more than twenty-three. It is the latter part of the report which induced me to observe above, that if there were any inaccuracies in the statement, they were more likely to proceed from Fouché's police than the false representations of young La Sahla. It is difficult to give credit without proof to such accusations. However, I decide nothing; but I consider it my duty to express doubts of the truth of these charges brought against Prussian ministers, of whom the Prince of Wittgenstein, a man of undoubted honour, has always spoken to me in the best of terms.

There is nothing to prove that La Sahla returned to France the second time, with the same intentions as before. This pro-

ject, however, is a mystery to me, and his detonating powder gives rise to many conjectures.*

I had scarcely left Hamburg, when the Prince of Eckmuhl (Marshal Davoust) was appointed governor-general of that place, on the union of the Hanse Towns with the empire. From that period I was constantly occupied in contending against the persecutions and denunciations which he racked his imagination to invent. I cannot help attributing to those persecutions the emperor's coolness towards me on my arrival in Paris. But as Davoust's calumnies were devoid of proof, he resorted to a scheme by which a certain appearance of probability might supply the place of truth. When I arrived in Paris, at the commencement of 1811, I was informed by an excellent friend I had left at Hamburg, M. Bouvier, an emigrant, and one of the hostages of Louis XVI., that in a few days I would receive a letter which would commit me, and likewise M. de Talleyrand and General Rapp. I had never had any connexion, on matters of business, with either of those individuals, for whom I entertained the most sincere attachment. They, like myself, were not in the good graces of Marshal Davoust, who could not pardon the one for his incontestable superiority of talent, and the other for his blunt honesty. On the receipt of M. Bouvier's letter, I carried it to the Duke de Rovigo, whose situation made him

* This account of La Sahla produced a warm remonstrance from Baron Stein, which appeared first in the Prussian State Gazette, and was afterwards copied into many other papers. In the baron's reply, he declares that he never saw La Sahla until that person visited him in Paris, in 1814. The baron was not then a Prussian minister, having been dismissed by Napoleon, in 1808, from that cabinet of which he never afterwards was a member. He asks, what motive could he have for poisoning Count Mongelas, and what possible influence could such a crime have on the political questions which were agitated in the autumn of 1814 and the spring of 1815? A complete copy of the baron's vindication was annexed to the German translation of Bourrienne's Memoirs. Baron Gagern applied to Prince Metternich for a declaration from him on the subject, and received in return the following letter:

"The passage in M. de Bourrienne's Memoirs, which has attracted Baron Stein's attention, produced a similar effect on me. I never knew any individual called La Sahla, either personally or by name. Never, under any name whatever, did any person ever come to me, and attribute to Baron Stein a purpose having the slightest relation to that stated in the passage in question. I honour the indignation which Baron Stein feels. An accusation which wounds honour may exist, and be considered true, while it remains uncontradicted, by the greater part of readers, who always have a predisposition to credulity. They ought to be undeceived; and the necessity for contradiction is the more pressing, when an error appears in a work like M. de Bourrienne's, which is stamped with a character entirely different from the multitude of wretched publications which daily appear."

Baron Gagern afterwards corresponded with Bourrienne, who stated that he could not make the desired correction until he published a third edition. This proposal, however, was not satisfactory to Baron Stein.

It seems to us that all the mystery of La Sahla's case admits of an easy explanation: *he* was half mad, and did not know what he was saying; and Fouché was quite villain enough to report his saying just what he chose.—*Editor.*

perfectly aware of the low intrigues which had been carried on against me since I had left Hamburg, by him whose ambition aspired to the viceroyalty of Poland. On that, as on many other similar occasions, the Duke de Rovigo advocated my cause with Napoleon. We agreed that it would be best to await the arrival of the letter which M. Bouvier had announced. Three weeks elapsed, and the letter did not appear. The Duke de Rovigo, therefore, told me that I must have been misinformed. However, I was certain that M. Bouvier would not have sent me the information on slight grounds, and I therefore supposed that the project had only been delayed. I was not wrong in my conjecture, for at length the letter arrived. To what a depth of infamy men can descend! The letter was from a man whom I had known at Hamburg; whom I had obliged; whom I had employed as a spy. His epistle was a miracle of impudence. After relating some extraordinary transactions which he said had taken place between us, and which all bore the stamp of falsehood, he requested me to send him, by return of post, the sum of sixty thousand francs, on account of what I had promised him, for some business he executed in England, by the direction of M. de Talleyrand, General Rapp, and myself. Such miserable wretches are often caught in the snares they spread for others. This was the case in the present instance; for the fellow had committed the blunder of fixing upon the year 1802, as the period of this pretended business in England; that is to say, two years before my appointment as minister plenipotentiary to the Hanse Towns. This anachronism was not the only one I discovered in the letter.

I took a copy of the letter, and immediately carried the original to the Duke de Rovigo, as had been agreed between us. When I waited on the minister, he was just preparing to go to the emperor. He took with him the letter which I brought, and also the letter which announced its arrival. As the Duke de Rovigo entered the audience-chamber, Napoleon advanced to meet him, and apostrophized him thus: "Well, I have learned fine things of your Bourrienne, whom you are always defending." *The fact was, the emperor had already received a copy of the letter, which had been opened at the Hamburg post-office.* The Duke de Rovigo told the emperor that he had long known what his majesty had communicated to him. He then entered into a full explanation of the intrigue, of which it was wished to render me the victim, and proved to him the more easily the falsehood of my accusers, by reminding him that in 1802 I was not in Hamburg, but was still in his service at home.

It may be supposed, that I was too much interested in knowing what had passed at the Tuileries not to return to the Duke de Rovigo the same day. I learned from him the particulars which I have already related. He added, that he had observed

to the emperor that there was no connexion between Rapp and M. de Talleyrand which could warrant the suspicion of their being concerned in the affair in question. "When the emperor saw the matter in its true light," said Savary, "when I proved to him the palpable existence of the odious machination, he could not find terms to express his indignation. 'What baseness, what horrible villany!' he exclaimed, and gave me orders to arrest and bring to Paris the infamous writer of the letter, and you may rely upon it, his orders shall be promptly obeyed." Savary, as he had said, instantly despatched orders for the arrest of the writer, whom he directed to be sent to France. On his arrival, he was interrogated respecting the letter. He declared that he had written it at the instigation, and under the dictation of Marshal Davoust, for doing which he received a small sum of money as a reward. He also confessed that, when the letter was put into the post, the Prince of Eckmuhl ordered the director of the post to open it, take a copy, then seal it again, and send it to its address; that is to say, to me, and the copy to the emperor. The writer of the letter was banished to Marseilles, or to the Island of Hières; but the individual who dictated it continued a marshal, a prince, and a governor-general, and still looked forward to the viceroyalty of Poland! Such was the distributive justice of the empire; and Davoust continued his endeavours to revenge himself by other calumnies for my not having considered him a man of talent. I must do the Duke de Rovigo the justice to say, that though his fidelity to Napoleon was, as it always had been, boundless, yet whilst he executed the emperor's orders, he endeavoured to make him acquainted with the truth, as was proved by his conduct in the case I have just mentioned. He was much distressed by the sort of terror which his appointment had excited in the public, and he acknowledged to me that he intended to restore confidence by a more mild system than that of his predecessor. I had observed formerly, that Savary did not coincide in the opinion I had always entertained of Fouché; but when once the Duke de Rovigo endeavoured to penetrate the labyrinth of police, counter-police, inspections and hierarchies of spying, he found they were all bugbears which Fouché had created to alarm the emperor, as gardeners put up scarecrows among the fruit-trees, to frighten away the sparrows. Thus, thanks to the artifices of Fouché, the eagle was frightened as easily as the sparrows, until the period when the emperor, convinced that Fouché was maintaining a correspondence with England, through the agency of Ouvrard, dismissed him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1811.

M. Czernischeff—Dissimulation of Napoleon—Napoleon and Alexander—Josephine's foresight respecting the affairs of Spain—My visits to Malmaison Grief of Josephine—Tears and the toilet—Vast extent of the empire—List of persons condemned to death and banishment in Piedmont—Observation of Alfieri respecting the Spaniards—Success in Spain—Check of Masséna in Portugal—Money lavished by the English—Bertrand sent to Illyria, and Marmont to Portugal—Situation of the French army—Assembling of the Cortès—Europe sacrificed to the continental system—Conversation with Murat in the Champs-Elysées.

Since my return to France, I had heard much of the intrigues of M. Czernischeff, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, who, under the pretext of being frequently sent to compliment Napoleon, on the part of the Emperor Alexander, performed, in fact, the office of a spy. The conduct of Napoleon, with regard to M. Czernischeff, at that period, struck me as singular; especially after the intelligence, which, before my departure from Hamburg, I had transmitted to him, respecting the dissatisfaction of Russia, and her hostile inclinations. It is therefore clear to me, that Bonaparte was well aware of the real object of M. Czernischeff's mission, and that, if he appeared to give credit to the increasing professions of his friendship, it was only because he still wished, as he formerly did, that Russia might so far commit herself as to afford him a fair pretext for the commencement of hostilities in the north.

M. Czernischeff first arrived in Paris shortly after the interview at Erfurt, and after that period was almost constantly on the road between Paris and St. Petersburg; it has been computed, that in the space of less than four years, he travelled more than ten thousand leagues. For a long time, his frequent journeyings excited no surmises; but while I was in Paris, Savary began to entertain suspicions, the correctness of which it was not difficult to ascertain, so formidable was still the system of espionnage, notwithstanding the precaution taken by

Fouché, to conceal from his successor the names of his most efficient spies. It was known that M. Czernischeff was looking out for a professor of mathematics; doubtless, to disguise the real motives for his stay in Paris, by veiling them under the desire of studying the sciences. The confidant of Alexander had applied to a professor, connected with a public office; and from that time all the steps of M. Czernischeff were known to the police. It was discovered that he was less anxious to question his instructor respecting the equations of a degree, or the value of unknown quantities, than to gain all the information he could about the different branches of the administration, and particularly the department of war. It happened that the professor knew some individuals employed in the public offices, who furnished him with intelligence, which he in turn communicated to M. Czernischeff, but not without making a report of it to the police; according to custom, instead of putting an end to this intrigue at once, it was suffered fully to develop itself. Napoleon was informed of what was going on, and in this instance gave a new proof of his being an adept in the art of dissimulation; for, instead of testifying any displeasure against M. Czernischeff, he continued to receive him with the same marks of favour which he had shown to him during his former missions to Paris. Being, nevertheless, desirous to get rid of him, without evincing a suspicion that his clandestine proceedings had been discovered, he intrusted him with a friendly letter to his brother of Russia; but Alexander was in such haste to reply to the flattering missive of his brother of France, that M. Czernischeff was hurried back to Paris, having scarcely been suffered to enter the gates of St. Petersburg. I believe I am correct in the idea, that Napoleon was not really displeased at the intrigues of M. Czernischeff, from the supposition that they afforded an indication of the hostile intentions of Russia towards France; for, whatever he might say on this subject to his confidants, what reliance can we place on the man who formed the camp of Boulogne, without the most distant intention of attempting a descent upon England, and who had deceived the whole world respecting that important affair, without taking any one into his own confidence?

During the period of my stay in Paris, the war with Spain and Portugal occupied much of the public attention; and it proved, in the end, an enterprise upon which the intuition of Josephine had not deceived her. In general, she intermeddled little with political affairs: in the first place, because her doing so would have given offence to Napoleon; and next, because her natural frivolity led her to give a preference to lighter pursuits. But I may safely affirm, that she was endowed with an instinct so perfect, as seldom to be deceived respecting the good or evil tendency of any measure which Napoleon engaged in; and I remember she told me, that when informed of the inten-

tion of the emperor to bestow the throne of Spain on Joseph, she was seized with a feeling of indescribable alarm. It would be difficult to define that instinctive feeling which leads us to foresee the future; but it is a fact, that Josephine was endowed with this faculty in a more perfect degree than any other person I have ever known; and to her it was a fatal gift, for she suffered at the same time under the weight of present and of future misfortunes.

I often visited her at Malmaison, as Duroc assured me that the emperor had no objection to my doing so; yet he must have been fully aware, that when Josephine and I were in confidential conversation, he would not always be mentioned in terms of unqualified eulogy; and in truth, his first friend and his first wife, might well be excused for sometimes commingling their complaints.

Though more than a twelvemonth had elapsed since the divorce, grief still preyed on the heart of Josephine. "You cannot conceive, my friend," she often said to me, "all the torments that I have suffered since that fatal day! I cannot imagine how I survived it. You cannot figure to yourself the agony I endure on seeing descriptions of his fêtes every where. And the first time he came to visit me, after his marriage, what a meeting was that! How many tears I shed! The days on which he comes are to me days of misery, for he spares me not. How cruel to speak of his expected heir. Bourrienne, you cannot conceive how heart-rending all this is to me! Better, far better to be exiled a thousand leagues from hence! However," added Josephine, "a few friends still remain faithful in my changed fortune; and that is now the only thing which affords me even temporary consolation." The truth is that she was extremely unhappy, and the most acceptable consolation her friends could offer her was to weep with her. Yet such was still Josephine's passion for dress, that after having wept for a quarter of an hour, she would dry her tears, to give audience to milliners and jewellers. The sight of a new hat would call forth all Josephine's feminine love of finery.* One day, I re-

* Our amusing femme-de-chambre, Mademoiselle Avrillion, informs us that poor Josephine, after her divorce, amused her solitude with embroidering, and other little works of the kind. She says she was also very fond of reading, or of having books read out to her; but mademoiselle lets out on fifty occasions that the principal occupation of the ex-empress was the toilet, and that her taste for finery and expensive nic-nacs continued undiminished by time and many sorrows. Shortly after the divorce, Josephine made a journey to the waters of Aix, in Savoy, and then a short tour in Switzerland. When she was at Coppet, where Madame de Staël was residing, she declined receiving the visit of that celebrated woman, as she feared that by so doing she would offend her former husband, the great Napoleon, who was in a state of open warfare with the author of "Corinne." At Sécheron, Mademoiselle d'Avrillion was very near losing her "*fort beau châle de cachemire!*" It is her mixing up these characteristic traits and feminine fatuities with important events, and pathetic scenes, that renders her book interesting.—*Editor.*

. GRIVAZ.

THE FAVORITE OCCUPATION OF THE EMPRESS.

member, that taking advantage of the momentary serenity occasioned by an ample display of sparkling gewgaws, I congratulated her upon the happy influence they exercised over her spirits, when she said, "My dear friend, I ought, indeed, to be indifferent to all this; but it is a habit." Josephine might have added, that it was also an occupation: for it would be no exaggeration to say, that if the time she wasted in tears and at her toilet had been substracted from her life, its duration would have been considerably shortened.

The vast extent of the French empire now presented a spectacle, which resembled rather the dominion of the Romans, and the conquests of Charlemagne, than the usual form and political changes of modern Europe. In fact, for nearly two centuries, until the period of the revolution, and particularly until the elevation of Napoleon, no remarkable changes had taken place in the boundaries of European states, if we except the partition of Poland, when two of the co-partitioners committed the error of turning the eyes of Russia towards the west! Under Napoleon, every thing was overturned with astonishing rapidity! customs, manners, laws, were superseded by new customs, new manners, and new laws, imposed by force, and forming a heterogeneous whole, which could not fail to dissolve, as soon as the influence of the power which had created it should cease to operate. Such was the state of Italy, that I have been informed by an individual worthy of credit, that if the army of Prince Eugène, instead of being victorious, had been beaten on the Piava, a deeply organized revolution would have broken out in Piedmont, and even in the kingdom of Italy, where, nevertheless, the majority of the people fully appreciated the excellent qualities of Eugène. I have been also credibly informed that lists were in readiness, designating those of the French who were to be put to death, as well as those by whom the severe orders of the imperial government had been mitigated, and who were only to be banished. In fact, revolt was as natural to the Italians, as submission to the Germans, and as the fury of despair to the Spanish nation. On this subject I may cite an observation contained in one of the works of Alfieri, published fifteen years before the Spanish war. Taking a cursory view of the different European nations, he regarded the Spaniards as the only people possessed of "sufficient energy to struggle against foreign usurpation." Had I still been near the person of Napoleon, I would most assuredly have resorted to an innocent artifice, which I had several times employed, and placed the work of Alfieri on his table, open at the page I wished him to read. Alfieri's opinion of the Spanish people was in the end fully verified; and I confess I cannot think without shuddering of the torrents of blood which inundated the Peninsula; and for what? To make Joseph Bonaparte a king!

The commencement of 1811 was sufficiently favourable to the

French arms in Spain; but towards the beginning of March, the aspect of affairs changed. The Duke of Belluno, notwithstanding the valour of his troops, was unsuccessful at Chiclana; and from that day the French army could not make head against the combined forces of England and Portugal. Even Masséna, notwithstanding the title of Prince of Eslingen, which he had won under the walls of Vienna, was no longer the favourite child of victory as he had been at Zurich.

Having mentioned Masséna, I may take this opportunity to declare that he did not favour the change of the French government on the foundation of the empire. Masséna loved two things, glory and money; but as to what is termed honours, he only valued those which resulted from the command of an army; and his recollections all bound him to the republic, because the republic recalled to his mind the most brilliant and glorious events of his military career. He was, besides, among the number of the marshals who wished to see a limit put to the ambition of Bonaparte; and he had assuredly done enough, since the commencement of the wars of the republic, to be permitted to enjoy some repose, which his health at that period required. What could he achieve against the English in Portugal? The combined forces of England and Portugal daily augmented, while ours diminished. No efforts were spared by England to gain a superiority in the great struggle in which she was engaged; as her money was lavished profusely, her troops paid well wherever they went, and were abundantly supplied with ammunition and provisions, the French army was compelled, though far from possessing such ample means, to purchase at the same high rate, in order to keep the natives from joining the English party. But even this did not prevent numerous partial insurrections in different places, which rendered all communication with France extremely difficult. Armed bands continually carried off our dispersed soldiers; and the presence of the British troops, supported by the money they spent in the country, excited the inhabitants against us; for it is impossible to suppose that, unsupported by the English, Portugal could have held out a single moment against France. But battles, bad weather, and even want, had so reduced the French force, that it was absolutely necessary our troops should repose, when their enterprises could lead to no results. In this state of things Masséna was recalled, because his health was so materially injured as to render it impossible for him to exert sufficient activity to restore the army to a respectable footing.

Under these circumstances, Bonaparte sent Bertrand into Illyria to supersede Marmont, who was ordered in his turn to relieve Masséna, and take the command of the French army in Portugal. Marmont, on assuming the command, found the troops in a deplorable state. The difficulty of procuring provisions was extreme, and the means he was compelled to employ

Massena.

for that purpose greatly heightened the evil; at the same time insubordination and want of discipline prevailed to such an alarming degree, that it would be as difficult as painful to depict the situation of our army at this period. Marmont by his steady conduct fortunately succeeded in correcting the disorders which prevailed, and very soon found himself at the head of a well-organized army, amounting to thirty thousand infantry, with forty pieces of artillery; but he had only a very small body of cavalry, and those ill-mounted.

Affairs in Spain at the commencement of 1811, exhibited an aspect not very different from those of Portugal. At first we were uniformly successful, but our advantages were so dearly purchased that the ultimate issue of this struggle might easily have been foreseen, because when a people fight for their homes and their liberties, the invading army must gradually diminish, while at the same time the armed population, imboldened by success, increases in a still more marked progression. Insurrection was now regarded by the Spaniards as a holy and sacred duty, to which the recent meetings of the Cortès in the Isle of Leon, had given, as it were, a legitimate character, since Spain found again, in the remembrance of her ancient privileges, at least the shadow of a government—a centre around which the defenders of the soil of the Peninsula could rally.*

The continental system was the cause, if not of the eventual fall, at least of the rapid fall of Napoleon. This cannot be doubted, if we consider for a moment the brilliant situation of the empire in 1811, and the effect simultaneously produced throughout Europe, by that system which undermined the most powerful throne which ever existed. It was the continental system that Napoleon upheld in Spain; for he had persuaded himself that this system rigorously enforced, would strike a deathblow to the commerce of England; and Duroc besides informed me of a circumstance which is of great weight in this question. Napo-

* Lord Wellington gave Masséna a sound beating at Fuentes d'Onor, on the 5th of May, 1811. It was soon after this battle that Napoleon sent Marmont to succeed Masséna. Advancing on the southern frontier of Portugal, the skilful Soult contrived to take Badajoz from a blundering, wavering Spanish garrison. About this time, however, General Graham, with his British corps, sallied out of Cadiz, and beat the French on the heights of Barrosa, which lie in front of Cadiz, which city the French were then besieging. Encouraged by the successes of our regular armies, the Spanish Guerillas became more and more numerous and daring. By the end of 1811, king Joseph Bonaparte found so many thorns in his usurped crown, that he implored his brother to put it on some other head. Napoleon would not then listen to his prayer. In the course of 1811, a clever plan was laid for liberating Ferdinand from his prison in France, and placing him at the head of affairs in Spain, but this plan was detected by the emissaries of Bonaparte's expert police. Ferdinand's sister, the ex-Queen of Etruria, had also planned an escape to England. Her agents were betrayed, tried by a military commission, and *shot*—the princess herself was condemned to close confinement in a Roman convent.—*Editor.*

leon, one day, said to him, "I am no longer anxious that Joseph should be King of Spain; and he himself is indifferent about it. I would give the crown to the first comer, who would shut his ports against the English."

Murat had come to Paris on the occasion of the empress's accouchement, and I saw him several times during his stay, for we had always been on the best terms; and I must do him the justice to say, that he never assumed the king but to his courtiers, and those who had known him only as a monarch. Eight or ten days after the birth of the King of Rome, as I was one morning walking in the Champs-Elysées, I met Murat. He was alone, and dressed in plain clothes. We were exactly opposite the gardens of his sister-in-law, the Princess Borghese. "Well, Bourrienne," said Murat, after we had exchanged the usual courtesies, "well, what are you about now?" I informed him how I had been treated by Napoleon; who, that I might not be in Hamburg when the decree of union arrived there, had recalled me to Paris under a show of confidence. I think I still see the handsome and expressive countenance of Joachim when, having addressed him by the titles of Sire and your Majesty, he said to me, "Pshaw! Bourrienne, are we not old comrades? The emperor has treated you unjustly! and to whom has he not been unjust? His displeasure is preferable to his favour, which costs so dear! He says that he made us kings! but did we not make him an emperor! To you, my friend, whom I have known long and intimately, I can make my profession of faith. My sword, my blood, my life, belong to the emperor. When he calls me to the field to combat his enemies, and the enemies of France, I am no longer a king, I resume the rank of a marshal of the empire; but let him require no more. At Naples I will be King of Naples, and I will not sacrifice to his false calculations the life, the well-being, and the interests of my subjects. Let him not imagine that he can treat me as he has treated Louis! For I am ready to defend, even against him, if it must be so, the rights of the people, over whom he has appointed me to rule. Am I then an advanced-guard king?" These last words appeared to me peculiarly appropriate in the mouth of Murat, who had always served in the advanced guard of our armies, and which I thought expressed in a very happy manner the similarity of his situation as a king and a soldier.

I walked with Murat about half an hour. In the course of our conversation, he informed me that his greatest cause of complaint against the emperor was, his having first set him forward, and then abandoned him. "Before I arrived in Naples," continued he, "it was intimated to me that there was a design of assassinating me. What did I do? I entered that city alone, at midnight, in an open carriage, for I would rather have been assassinated at once, than have lived in the constant fear of being

so. I afterwards made a descent on the isle of Capri, which succeeded. I attempted one against Sicily, and am certain it would have also been successful, had the emperor fulfilled his promise of sending the Toulon fleet to second my operations; but he issued contrary orders: *he enacted Mazarin, and wished me to play the part of the adventurous Duke of Guise.* But I see his designs. Now that he has a son on whom he has bestowed the title of King of Rome, he merely wishes the crown of Naples to be considered as a deposit in my hands. He regards Naples as a future annexation to the kingdom of Rome, to which I foresee it is his design to unite the whole of Italy. But let him not urge me too far, for I will oppose him, and conquer, or perish in the attempt."

I had the discretion not to inform Murat, how correctly he had divined the plans of the emperor, and his projects as to Italy; but in regard to the continental system, which, perhaps, the reader will be inclined to call my great battle-horse, I spoke of it as I had done to the Prince of Sweden, and I perceived that he was fully disposed to follow my advice, as experience has sufficiently proved. It was in fact the continental system which separated the interests of Murat from those of the emperor, and which compelled the new King of Naples to form alliances amongst the princes at war with France. Different opinions have been entertained on this subject; mine is, that the marshal of the empire was wrong, but the King of Naples right.

[The penal code of Napoleon, which was in many respects miserably ill-suited to the character of the people of the south, had also its effect in rendering the French odious in Naples. According to General Colletta,

"They made a great abuse of the punishment of the pillory, which may be proper enough in those countries where the sense of shame is common to the people, but most unjust among us, where shame is either null, or of too excessive a nature. This is proved by the two following facts: For some petty larceny they sentenced to the pillory a man of the very lowest class, who was most incredibly ugly, and deformed in person. While this fellow was standing in the pillory many of the spectators mocked him, and laughed at his ugliness, and the wretch answered by mocking and laughing at them in return, thus converting a punishment into a mere scene and a farce.

"At the same time, in a different part of the kingdom, a horrible event happened. A young lady of an honourable family, and daughter of parents of most rigid morals, transported with love for a young man, committed the act of imprudence, and became *enceinte.* More sensible to disgrace than honesty, she endeavoured to produce abortion, but her vigorous health defeated the drugs. She was then shut up in a house for several

months, during which she was assisted and comforted by a kind-hearted old aunt. On being delivered, this unhappy and unnatural mother consented to the exposing of her child during a cold winter night on the public highway, where it miserably perished. Her crime was discovered, and, on ample proof, the court condemned her to a long imprisonment, and to the punishment (according to the code) of the pillory. On the fatal day, the wretched girl, followed by an infamous retinue, and preceded by the public crier, who proclaimed her offence, walked to the place of her punishment; having reached the spot, the hangman stuck a paper on her head, indicating her name, with the fearful addition, "She killed her child!" And then all her delicate limbs were seen to tremble, and she suddenly stopped, so that the pitiless executioner, fancying she was afraid of the pillory, menaced her, and thrust her forward, but she fell with her face to the earth at the foot of the scaffold, because she was suffocated with shame—and was dead!"—*Storia del Reame di Napoli.*

If we add to the errors of the regular code, the horrors of the irregular courts-martial and military tribunals, and then if we take the detested conscription law, which sent the young men of sunny Naples to perish by thousands in northern Germany and the wilds of Poland and Russia, it will easily be understood how unpopular must have been Napoleon who ordered all these things. M. de Bourrienne, however, does not over-estimate the effects of the continental system: it had reduced one half of the kingdom to beggary. In the rich oil country about Gallipoli, Taranto, and Bari—through a large portion of Apulia and Calabria, many people no longer pressed the olives that their rich groves furnished, as, owing to the exclusion of England, America, &c., from the market, the price of oil scarcely paid the expenses of its preparation. Murat, however, was always personally popular with a large portion of the Neapolitan nation. —*Editor.*]

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